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THE HISTORY OF THE Revolution of PERSIA:

Taken from the

MEMOIRS OF

Father *KRUSINSKI*,

PROCURATOR of the

JESUITS at ISPAHAN;

Who lived Twenty Years in that Country, was employ'd by the Biſhop of *Iſpahan*, in his Negotiations at the *Perſian* Court, for the EMPEROR and KING of *France*; and was familiarly converſant with the greateſt Men of all Parties.

Done into ENGLISH, *from the Original, juſt publiſh'd with the Royal Licence at* Paris,

By Father DU CERCEAU,

Who has prefix'd a Map *of* PERSIA, *and a* ſhort Hiſtory of the SOPHIES; *with curious Remarks on the Accounts given by* TAVERNIER, *Sir* JOHN CHARDIN, *and other Writers that have treated particularly of that* Government *and* Country, *&c.*

In TWO VOLUMES.

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THE PREFACE.

THOUGH the Gazettes and other publick News-Papers have, for several Years past, given us many Particulars about the Revolution in Persia; yet perhaps there is no Event of our Time, that has been deliver to us with more Obscurity. This is not said to throw any Blame upon the Authors who hand those Advices to us: They are not answerable for Accounts which are sent to them at so great a Distance; and, be they ever so defective, we owe them Thanks for the Care they have taken to inform us, as much as was in their Power, of every Thing relating to this great Catastrophe.

As to Events of the like Nature in Countries remote from us, we have nothing scarce to depend on, but the Relations given by

A Persons

Perſons who were Eye-Witneſſes, who were in a Situation and Capacity to be informed, not only of what was of a publick Nature, but alſo of the moſt private Tranſactions, as well at the Court of Perſia, *as of that Nation which has newly conquered that vaſt Kingdom; Perſons, in ſhort, who being Foreigners, with regard to* Perſia, *could have no Reaſon to favour one Party more than another.*

The Hiſtory which follows is founded upon Evidence of this kind; for the only Plan upon which I have formed it, is the Memoirs of Father Jude Kruſinski, *a* Poliſh *Jeſuit, who lived twenty Years at* Iſpahan, *and did not leave that City till towards the Concluſion of the Siege; and who, from Opportunities that I am going to mention, was in a Situation to be more particularly informed of the intrinſick Part of Affairs, than is generally poſſible for private Men, and Foreigners.*

Two Years before the dethroning of Schah-Huſſein, *that is to ſay, in* 1720. *the Biſhop of* Iſpahan, *having a Brief from the Pope, and Letters from the Emperor to the King of* France, *to deliver to the King of* Perſia, *the Prelate engaged Father* Kruſinski, *the Procurator of the Jeſuits in that Kingdom, to accompany him to his Audience, and to aſſiſt him in the Proſecution of thoſe Affairs which he had to negotiate with the King's Miniſters*

Miniſters. As that Poliſh *Jeſuit, who had been eighteen Years in* Perſia, *was very well known at* Iſpahan, *aud was better verſed than any other* European *in the Method of tranſacting Buſineſs there, the Prelate repoſed ſo much Confidence in his Probity and Experience, that he totally abandoned the Care of his Negotiation to him; ſo that, as Father* Kruſinsky *ſays himſelf, nothing was treated there but what paſſed through his Hands.*

The frequent Opportunities which the Courſe of this Negotiation gave him of converſing with the chief Miniſters, and the principal Officers of Schah-Huſſein; *and the Friendſhip they bore him for his Integrity and Wiſdom, put him into a Capacity to be informed of Abundance of the Anecdotes and Secrets of that Court, which could not be learned from any but thoſe who were concerned in the* Arcana *of Affairs. A Man of his Abilities, who for two Years, the moſt curious Part of* Schah-Huſſein's *Reign, and in the very critical Times of the Revolution, was with all the Miniſters, and admitted not only to their Audiences, but alſo to their Converſation, could not fail of coming at many Particulars which could not be learned without Doors. The Reader will eaſily diſcover this in many Parts of this Hiſtory, and eſpecially in thoſe which relate to the Intrigues and Fineſſes of* Myrr-Weis, *Father*

to Myrr-Maghmud, *who dethroned* Schah-Huſſein. *The firſt Part of this Hiſtory is the more curious, becauſe it is quite new to* Europe, *where nothing of it has hitherto been ſo much as touched on.*

Father Kruſinski *wanted nothing to be fully informed of every Circumſtance relating to the Revolution in* Perſia, *but to have the ſame Intimacy with the* Aghvans, *who are the Conquerors, as he had with the* Perſians, *who are the Conquered; and Providence favoured him with this Opportunity in the Manner I am going to relate.*

During the Siege of Iſpahan, *there was none left in the* Jeſuits *Monaſtery at* Zulfa; *but the Procurator of that Society, who choſe to ſtay there, if poſſible to preſerve the few Moveables which the Miſſionaries had been forced to leave behind them. This Procurator, who before the Troubles was obliged to keep in the Stables, for the Uſe of the Miſſionaries, Mules and Aſſes, which the common People of* Perſia *generally ride upon, was furniſhed with ſeveral Sorts of Salves and Ointments proper for the Diſtempers of thoſe Animals, and was very well skilled in the Method of applying them. When the* Aghvans *had taken* Zulfa, *it happened that the High-Steward of* Maghmud's *Court,* l'Eſik Aghari, *was ſeized with a Diſtemper which his Phyſicians thought incurable. As the Remedies which the Jeſuit try'd with very good*

good Succeſs in the Cure of the Diſtempers of Beaſts of Burthen, had acquired him at Zulfa *the Reputation of an able Phyſician, who was Maſter of choice Secrets, he was recommended to the Lord* Eſik Aghari. *The Phyſicians having already given him over, he had no Experiment left but to have recourſe to a foreign Practitioner, under whoſe Care he could not fare worſe than he had done with his own Doctors, who thought him incurable: Therefore the Procurator Jeſuit was ſent for. As he was more a Farrier than a Phyſician, he was not willing to ſtart out of his Sphere; and, therefore, in the Uſe and Application of his Remedies, he managed his Patient as he uſed to do his Aſſes and Mules. The Succeſs exceeded his Expectation, and his Remedies had the moſt happy and compleat Effect. The Patient, after being given over by his own Phyſicians, was perfectly recovered, and the Jeſuit by his Cure acquired as much Eſteem from the Lord* Eſik Aghari *as he had gained a Reputation for Phyſick throughout the* Aghvan *Army. The firſt Uſe which the Jeſuit Operator made of his Credit with his Patient, was to engage him to ſend for Father* Kruſinski, *his Brother Miſſionary from* Iſpahan, *the only Jeſuit that was left in the City, where he was ready to periſh for Hunger. He gave him to underſtand that this Father, to whom he was but an Apprentice, was much better*

skilled than himself in Physick, and had Secrets even more wonderful than this. He needed no other Argument to perswade Esik Aghari *to send for him from* Ispahan *to* Zulfa, *with the Permission of* Myrr-Maghmud,* *who consented to it without any Difficulty.*

Father Krusinski, *coming to the Patient's House made such a handsome Acknowledgment to his Deliverer, by the Salves and Ointments of which he made him a Present, that he not only gained his Favour, but his Confidence; and became one of his most intimate Friends. His constant Attendance upon this great Officer, and the frequent Conversation they had together while he was on the mending Hand, gave him an Opportunity to be thoroughly informed of every particular Passage in the Expedition of the* Aghvans; *and it may be affirmed that no Body was more capable to set him right in the whole Affair, than an Officer of that Rank, who had been present at all the Consultations, and had the greatest Share in the Execution.*

The History, therefore, I now publish, is taken from the authentick and accurate Memoirs of an intelligent impartial Man, who relates nothing but what he saw with his own Eyes, or heard from the Ministers of both

* He was not yet Master of *Ispahan*; but *Schah-Hussein*, who was just on the Point of surrendering it, refused nothing that he demanded.

both Parties, of the greateſt Knowledge and Authority; and I dare affirm, that there's ſcarce a Hiſtory in the World that can be ſo much depended upon for the Truth and Certainty of Facts as this, at leaſt to the Concluſion of the Year 1725. *for the Memoirs of* Kruſinski *go no farther.*

As for what has paſſed from the End of that Year to the preſent Time, which goes but a little Way in the ſecond Part of this Work, I could have no Information but from the publick News-Papers, wherein Things are repreſented in a very imperfect and uncertain Light. Of this the Reader may judge by their Way of diſtinguiſhing the Place where the Aghvans *gained a Victory over the* Turks *in* 1727. The Battle, *ſay they,* was fought between *Erivan* and *Iſpahan*; *which is very near the ſame Thing, as if, to tell where a Battle was fought in* France, *they ſhould ſay it happen'd betwixt* Quinpercorentim *and* Marſeilles; *for the Diſtance betwixt theſe two Towns is not ſo great as between* Erivan *and* Iſpahan.

As to the little Dependance that is to be placed upon thoſe Originals, with regard to the Certainty of Facts, I will only give one Inſtance here, which is, That it is pretended that the Turks *laid Siege, for the firſt Time, to* Iſpahan, *about the End of the Summer in* 1725. *though 'tis evident from the Memoirs of Father* Kruſinski, *that in the Ex-*

ſurſion which they then made that Way, they did not come within three Days Journey of the Place.

What I mention at the End of my Hiſtory, touching the Articles of the Treaty of Peace, concluded between the Grand Seignior and the Sultan Aſzraff, *is taken from the ſame News-Papers. I have only omitted one Article, which I did not think in the leaſt probable. 'Tis that where'tis ſaid, that the Sultan* Eſreff, *and his Envoys ſhall be received at* Conſtantinople, *and in the other Towns of the* Ottoman *Empire as true Muſſulmen*; notwithſtanding ſuch is the Difference of Opinions between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, that they look upon one another as Hereticks. *This Article might have ſtood, if the* Turk *had been treating with* Schah-Huſſein, *or the Sophies his Predeceſſors, who were of the Sect of* Rafi: *But it can by no Means ſuit with Sultan* Aſzraff, *and the* Aghvans, *who are now the prevailing Nation in* Perſia, *and who are in all Reſpects of the ſame Religion, and the ſame Sect as the Turks, namely, of the Sect of* Sunni, *or the Followers of* Omar, *as may be obſerved in many Parts of this Hiſtory. So that this is juſt the ſame Thing, as if, in a Treaty of Peace between two Roman Catholick Princes, who alſo acknowledge one another as ſuch, it ſhould be ſtipulated that for the future they ſhall no longer treat each other as Hereticks.*

I make these Observations here, to admonish the Reader, that as to the Certainty of Things, he ought to make a great Difference between the Facts posterior to the Year 1725. *which I only took from the publick News Papers, and which I have very succinctly related at the Close of this Work, and the Facts preceding that Period, which are all grounded upon the certain and genuine Memoirs of Father* Krusinski: *This very Person sent them to Father* Fleuriau, *Procurator of the Jesuits Mission in the* Levant; *and from this Reverend Father I receiv'd them, in order to make them publick; so that as they came to my Hands from that Source, and by this Canal, the present History I have compos'd from them may justly be look'd upon as a Continuation of the Memoirs of the* Levant *Missions, of which Father* Fleuriau *has already publish'd six Volumes.*

I have not advanc'd one Fact concerning the Events of this Revolution, to the End of the Year 1725. *but what is taken from the Memoirs of Father* Krusinski; *but I have not observed the same Order in my History as he has done: He divides his Relation into three Parts. The first contains the Arrival of the* Aghvans *before* Ispahan, *the Siege and Surrender of that Capital, the Abdication of* Schah-Hussein, *the two Years and half of the Usurper* Maghmud's *Reign, the Installation of his Successor, and his Actions to the End of*

of the Year 1725. *The second contains the Origin of the Rebellion of the* Aghvans, *and all the Intrigues of* Myrr-Weis, *Father to* Maghmud, *as well at* Ispahan *as* Candahar; *his Rebellion, his Return to his own Country, and the Consequences of that Rebellion, to the Moment that his Son* Maghmud *set out from* Candahar *at the Head of his Army to besiege* Kirman *first, and then* Ispahan. *The third and last Part is spent in discovering the Disorder and Confusion of the* Persian *Government in all its Parts, under the Reign of a weak Prince, a Slave to the Will and Pleasure of his Eunuchs, Persons as incapable to govern, as he was himself.*

This was the Method Father Krusinski *propos'd in his Memoirs, which in my History I have thought fit to alter. The last Part which takes up almost one half of the Memoirs, is what I treat of first, and what I have most contracted; so that what relates to the Disorders of the Government, consider'd in general, is hardly the eighth Part of my History. But I have taken more Scope as to particular Facts, which I have detach'd from that third Part, in order to range them in their due Place, according to the Order of Time in the Course of the History. From the Disorders of the Government, I pass to the Origin of the* Aghvans, *who have conquer'd* Persia, *which takes in all the second Part of Father* Krusinski's *Memoirs, with which*

which I conclude the first Part of my History.

The second Part begins at the Departure of Myrr-Maghmud, *when he march'd from* Candahar *to besiege* Kirman *first, and then* Ispahan, *and describes the whole Series of the Revolution to the Treaty of Peace lately concluded between the Grand Seignior and the Sultan* Aszraff, *by which the latter is left in quiet Possession of the Throne of* Persia, *and secur'd against the only Enemy that was powerful enough to molest him in his Conquest.*

'Tis true that the Turk *has Reason to be satisfied with the Share that remains to him, which is near two hundred Leagues of the Country in Length, from the Kingdom of* Caket, *the most Northern Part of* Georgia, *to the City of* Amadan *on the South, and in some Places above one hundred Leagues in Breadth. But I leave it to Politicians to judge, whether Conquests at so great Distance, which reach to the Center of* Persia, *are a valuable Acquisition for a Prince who is four hundred or five hundred Leagues off, and who will be very happy, if hereafter it does not cost him more to preserve them than what he will get by them.*

This was all that I had to say, in order to satisfy the Publick, as to the Materials I had for this History, and my Method in writing it. All that remains for me now, is to explain

explain ſome Points which ſeem'd to me to deſerve it.

I may be blam'd for Inſtance, becauſe, eſpecially in the firſt Part of my Hiſtory, I mention the Facts without Dates. To this I anſwer, that I found none in my Memoirs, where the Years are not diſtinguiſh'd till towards 1720. *Mean Time as this Want of Date is always perplexing to the Reader, I will endeavour to ſupply it here, and regulate my ſelf according to an Event which is clearly diſtinguiſh'd in thoſe Memoirs, and mention'd in a Note in the firſt Part of this Hiſtory.*

The Fact is this: The Muſcovite *Embaſſy, which ſo alarm'd the* Perſian *Court, becauſe of the Czar's Power becoming formidable even in* Aſia, *after the entire Defeat of the King of* Sweden, *could not arrive at* Iſpahan *till after the Battle of* Pultowa, *which was fought* July 8. 1709. *and becauſe it was by Reaſon of this Embaſſy that* Myrr-Weis *was ſent back to* Candahar, *where ſoon after his Arrival he rebell'd; this gives Room to fix the ſending back of* Myrr-Weis *to his own Country, and his Rebellion in the latter Months of the Year* 1709.

As it muſt take him up Time to defeat the ill Impreſſions which the Prince Georgi-Kan, *Governour of* Candahar *had given him at the Court of* Perſia, *and afterwards to make a Tour to* Mecca, *and to return from thence to* Iſpa-

Iſpahan, *where he alſo ſtaid ſome Time before he was ſent back to* Candahar, *he could not in leſs than four Years do this, and reconcile himſelf with the Miniſters, and the King himſelf, and erect all his Batteries againſt the Court, by Means of the Rebellion, which he was contriving; ſo that it may be conjectur'd that it was about the Year* 1705. *that the Prince* Georgi-Kan *ſent him to* Iſpahan, *as a dangerous Man that ought to be ſuſpected.*

It was not till two Years after his Rebellion that an Army was ſent againſt him, which he defeated. This Expedition and this Defeat could not fall out, therefore, but in the Year 1711.

I meet with another Perplexity relating to the Death of Myrr-Weis. *Father* Kruſinski's *Memoirs places it firſt in* 1717. *which Date is blotted out in my Manuſcript, and* 1713. *writ over it. But as I don't know whether this is the Author's Correction, and as beſides the Date of* 1713. *cannot tally with the important Facts related in the Memoirs, I thought fit to adhere to that of* 1717. *which agrees perfectly with theſe Facts.*

'Tis ſaid that after the firſt Victory which Myrr-Weis *gain'd over the* Perſians, *which, as I have prov'd, could not be ſooner than the Year* 1711. *freſh Armies were ſent againſt him every two Years, over which he*

had always the Advantage. Now if he died in 1713. *that is to say, two Years after his first Victory, he would not have had the Opportunity of beating those Armies, which after* 1711. *only came every two Years to give him any Disturbance.*

Moreover 'tis prov'd by the Memoirs, that the Brother of Myrr-Weis, *who succeeded him in the Principality of* Candahar, *enjoy'd that Place but a few Months, or even a few Days; and that* Maghmud, *who had cut off his Uncle's Head, was his immediate Substitute. Now* Maghmud, *as is expressly said in our Memoirs, was but twenty six Years of Age when he died in* 1725. *therefore if his Father was dead in* 1713. *he would have been but fourteen Years old when he cut off his Uncle's Head, and caus'd himself to be declar'd Prince of* Candahar, *and General of the Troops of the Nation, which is beyond all Probability; whereas by supposing, as the Manuscript says in the first Place, that* Myrr-Weis *did not die till* 1717. Maghmud, *who was then eighteen Years of Age, and who by attending his Father in all his Campaigns and Excursions from his Infancy, could not but be more formed to Business, and more enterprizing, than is usual at that Age, might be in a Condition to fill the important Post to which he caused himself to be appointed.*

It

It was not till two Years after his Inſtallation, that the Court of Perſia *ſent an Army againſt him, commanded by the Son of* Sefi-Kuli-Kan, *whom his Father ſerved in Quality of Lieutenant. Therefore this Expedition, which was unfortunate to the* Perſians, *could not be made but in the Year* 1713.

The ſucceſsful Expedition of Luft-Ali-Kan, *againſt* Myrr-Maghmud *was made the Year following, and by Conſequence towards the Beginning of the Summer of* 1720. *It was in* November *that ſame Year that this General, who was involved in the Diſgrace of the Prime Miniſter, his Brother-in-Law, was apprehended at* Chiras. *All the Facts poſterior to this Event are dated in the Memoirs, as well as this laſt, ſo that it were needleſs to run this Chronology farther. But that the Reader may ſee the whole Series of it at one Glance, and conſult it as he reads this Hiſtory, I think it proper to place it here.*

Myrr-Weis *was ſent as a ſuſpected Perſon from* Candahar *to* Iſpahan, *towards the Cloſe of the Year.*	1705
There he ſtay'd without going out of the Town till	1708

He

He made his Pilgrimage to Mecca *during that same Year, and returned to* Ispahan *about the End of it, or the Beginning of* 1709

He was sent back to Candahar, *where he rebelled about the End of that Year.*

He defeated the Persian *Army commanded by* Kostrow-Kan, *Prince of* Georgia, *in* 1711

He died, and was succeeded first by his Brother, and then by his second Son Myrr-Maghmud, *in* 1717

Myrr-Maghmud *defeated the* Persian *Army sent against him, in* 1719

He is defeated by the Persian *General* Luft-Ali-Kan *in the Summer of* 1720

The General Luft-Ali-Kan *was arrested, and his Army dispersed by Means of the Disgrace of* Athemat-Doulet *his Brother-in-Law, in the Month of* November, *the same Year.*

Myrr-Maghmud *spent all the next Year in making Preparations for a great Expedition, and set out in* December. 1721

He arrived at Giulnabat, *four Leagues from* Ispahan, *the 8th of* March. 1722

He

He made himself Master of Ispahan, *the* 22*d of* October, *the same Year.*

He died, and his Cousin-Germain Asfraff *succeeded him in* April } 1725

The Peace between the Grand Seignior and Asfraff *was concluded at the End of* } 1727

Thus have I given the Chronological Series of the principal Events of this Revolution, which will make amends for the Want of the Dates in the first Part of my History; for in the second, I have set them down exactly.

Since, wherever I have spoke of great Sums of Money in this History, I have specify'd them by Tomans, which I have afterwards valued by our own Coin, I am obliged to give an Explanation here, both as to that Money, and its Value.

The Toman is not a single Species of Coin, but Money in Tale, which is used in Persia *for considerable Sums.*

The Toman, taken in this Sense, never varies in itself, but the Variation of our Coins makes a proportionable Variation in that.

At the Time that Tavernier *was in* Persia, *where he made his last Voyage in* 1663. *the Toman was valued at about fifteen* (French) *Crowns, or, by a nice Computation, at forty-*

six Livres, a Denier, and one fifth, as he himself says, speaking of the Toman.

Our Money having risen since, the Valuation of the Toman rises in Proportion; insomuch that in the Time of Sir John Chardin,* *whose Travels in* Persia *are later than those of* Tavernier, *the Toman was valued at fifty Livres. I will only produce two Proofs of it taken from his Book, of the Coronation of* Solyman. *He there says,* p. 381. "*They gave him* eight Tomans, "*which are* four hundred Livres." *And in another Place before that,* p. 298. "*They* "*took but* 8000 Tomans, *which are* 400000 "Livres." Gemelli, *who did not travel to* Persia, *till near thirty Years after* Chardin's *first Voyage, reduces the Toman to fifteen Crowns, and a little more; in which 'tis visible that he has only copied* Tavernier, *as he has done in many other Places, though he never misses an Opportunity to fall upon him when he can. It can't be doubted but the Valuation of the Toman, with respect to our Money, is very much risen since* Tavernier; *and that it was at least at fifty-five Livres, while* Gemelli *travelled in* Persia, *that is to say, in* 1694. *So Fa-*

* In his latter Voyages in *Persia*, he reduces the Toman to forty-five Livres, and we don't see what made it fall; but 'tis still certain, according to *Krusinski*'s Valuation, that under *Schah Solyman* it was at sixty Livres.

Father Kruſinski, *who came thither eight or nine Years after, and ſtay'd twenty Years there, that is to ſay, during the greateſt Part of the Reign of* Schah-Huſſein, *values the Toman at ſixty Livres of our Money. The Letter from a* Capuchin *of* Aleppo, *inſerted in the* Mercury *of* January 1727. *confirms this Valuation, by ſaying, That a* Toman is worth twenty Crowns. *And this is the Rule I have conſtantly follow'd in my Valuation of the Tomans throughout the whole Courſe of this Hiſtory.*

As to the Coins of Perſia, *I think I ought to correct a Paſſage which is in the Relation inſerted in the ſecond Tome of the* Mercury *for* December 1726. *'Tis there ſaid, that the Ambaſſador ſent by* Aſzraff *to the* Ottoman Porte *carried for a Preſent* 20000 *Tomans of Gold, which ſeems to infer, that there are two Sorts of Tomans in* Perſia, *Tomans of Gold, and Tomans of Silver, a Thing abſolutely falſe, and which I obſerve here, to guard the Reader againſt a material Error, to which he might be liable in that Reſpect.*

Whereupon I ſhall make theſe Remarks:

1. *That they don't coin Gold in* Perſia, *except upon the Acceſſion of its Kings to the Crown, and only to ſcatter among the People; but that is not current Money.*

2. *That there are but two sorts of Sums in* Persia, *the one called* Toman, *the other called* Or. *Eight* Larins *make an* Or, *and eighty* Larins *a* Toman; *and, by consequence, a Toman is worth ten* Ors. *But when Tomans are mentioned, the Question is not whether they are of Gold or Silver; and this Term signifies only a certain fixed Sum in Accounts, which valued by the* French *Money is worth, at this Day, sixty Livres. This Remark is taken from* Tavernier, *who having traded considerably at the Court of* Persia, *where he often received great Sums of the King's Treasure, for the Diamonds and Jewels which he sold to that Prince in his several Voyages, ought to be credited more than any Body, as to what relates to the Money of this Kingdom.*

If Gemelli *has only copied* Tavernier, *as to the Coins of* Persia, *he can't be charged, however, with having copied him in the Description he gives of the Bridge of* Chiras, *over the* Senderout, *a Quarter of a League from* Ispahan; *for* Tavernier *says no more of it, than that 'tis an old Bridge. But* Gemelli, *who in all Probability never saw it, gives a Description of it according to that of the Bridge of* Zulfa, *or the Bridge of the* Gaurs, *given us by* Tavernier. *Indeed* Gemelli *faces this Bridge with* high Walls of coloured Bricks, which have a great opening in the Middle, with a cover'd Gallery

lery, and two little Footways at the Sides towards the River.

In order to throw down these Walls, and those pretended Galleries, which Gemelli *has raised of his own Good-Will upon the Bridge of* Chiras *near* Ispahan, *there needs no more than one Fact, related by Father* Krusinski *in his Memoirs, of which himself was an Eye-Witness. 'Tis the Method that* Charpentier Jacoub, *a* Courlander, *took in driving the* Aghvans *from this Bridge by Cannon-Shot, while the* Persians *defended it against them; for 'tis plain that he could only fire upon one Side of the Bridge, because otherwise, and if he had fired from either End of the Bridge, he would have knocked the* Persians *o-th'-Head, before he could have come at the* Aghvans. *Now, if this Bridge of* Chiras, *was faced with Walls and Galleries on each Side, how could the Cannon do any Execution upon the* Aghvans, *whom he could only fire upon in Flank?*

As to this Charpentier Jacoub, *I shall here add one Thing, which will prove what I have said of the little Credit that is to be given to the Relations that are handed to us of this War. According to Father* Krusinski *who saw the Attack made upon the Bridge of* Chiras *on the 23d of* March 1726. *it was this* Charpentier Jacoub, *who having levelled Cannons charged with Car-*

tridges againſt the Aghvans, *drove them from the Bridge. Now according to the Account inſerted in the* Mercury *for* November 1726. *it was under the Command of this ſame* Jacoub *the* Courlander, *that the* Aghvans *made an Attack upon the Bridge of* Chiras *that ſame Day the* 23*d of* March, *which is as much as to ſay, that this very Man fought on both Sides, attacking and defending the Bridge at the ſame Time.*

In theſe Relations I might correct fifty Miſtakes of the ſame Importance. I ſhall only hint at one, which is ſo contrary to all Manner of Probability that I can't conceive how it could ſlip the Writer's Pen. 'Tis there pretended that in the laſt Sally made by the brave Eunuch Achmet Aga, *the Prince of* Havouſa Machmet-Wali, *who ſuſtained it at firſt but weakly, joined openly then with the* Aghvans; *that he fell with them* upon Achmet; *that he* drove him from the Poſts where he had made a Lodgment; *and that he* put all the *Perſians* he met with there to the Sword: *And yet after this manifeſt Treachery, 'tis pretended that* Schah-Huſſein *made an Apology for this Traitor, whom he then knew to be ſuch, againſt an Eunuch who had done him faithful Service. This whole Narrative is abſolutely falſe: The Eunuch was indeed blamed by the King for having fought*

fought without the Orders of Machmet-Wali *General of the Army; but the General, who always held out for the King in Appearance to the End of the Siege, never turned his Arms againſt the Troops of that King which he commanded; and all that he could be reproached for upon this Occaſion was, that he had not ſupported the Eunuch* Achmet *with as much Vigour as he might and ought to have done; as we ſhall find in that Part of the Hiſtory, where we have all the Particulars of this Adventure.* Schah-Huſſein *was ſo far from ſuſpecting that the General had betray'd him, that all the Eunuch* Achmet *could ſay to him upon this Occaſion to convince him of it, and to open his Eyes to ſee a Piece of Treachery, which was but too palpable, was abſolutely to no purpoſe.*

Wherever I have mentioned the Chief Miniſter of Perſia, *I have called him the* Athemat-Doulet, *though others, and even my Memoirs call him* Ichtimadewlet. *But as, ſince* Tavernier's *Voyages, who always calls him* Athemat-Doulet, *he is more known by this Name in* France *than by any other, I have thought fit to retain it.*

Our publick News-Papers don't agree about the Name of the new Sultan of Perſia. *Our* Gazettes *call him* Eſref, *and the Accounts inſerted in our* Mercuries *call him* Acheraf. *I know not how the Name of this Sultan*

ought to be pronounced; but as to the Way of Writing it I have followed the Memoirs of Father Kruſinski, *where it is always writ* Aſzraff.

To the End that nothing might be wanting which may contribute to the Satisfaction of the Reader of this Work, I have prefixed a ſhort Hiſtory of the Sophies, *containing the Origin of that Family, and the Succeſſion of Kings it has given to* Perſia, *and that have reigned there from* 1499. *when* Iſmael, *the firſt King of the Race of the* Sophies, *mounted the Throne, to the Month of* October 1722. *when* Schah-Huſſein, *the laſt King of that Race was dethroned. This ſhort Hiſtory will ſerve as an Introduction to the Hiſtory of the late Revolution; ſo that in one and the ſame Work, we ſhall have a compleat Hiſtory of the Reigns of the Sophies, which have laſted but* 224 *Years.*

As to Prince Thamas, *who ſince the Concluſion of the Peace between the* Turks *and* Aghvans, *has given no Signs of Life, he muſt be conſidered as a Titular, who has no longer any real Poſſeſſion in* Perſia; *but only certain Rights, which indeed are well founded, and may be of great Service when the Times favour, but as they are at preſent, are more burthenſome to him than they can be profitable.*

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY

Of the Late

Revolution in PERSIA:

Or, A ſhort

Hiſtory of the SOPHIES.

I Shall not here enter into the Inquiry, whether *Europeans* are in the Wrong to give the Title of Sophy to the Kings of *Perſia* of the laſt Race: Sir *John Chardin* in his Account of the Coronation of *Soleiman*, Father to *Schah-Huſſein*, ſays, "That a King of *Perſia* would take that Title as an "Affront

" Affront." Sir *John* adds, " That for his " own Part, he could not help ſmiling when " he read the Titles *Sophy of* Perſia, and *Grand* " *Sophy*, in the Works of ſome of our Wri- " ters ;" and he aſſerts, " That the true Title " of the Kings of *Perſia* of that Family, is " *Safié*, or *Sefié*.

I SHALL not diſpute this with him ; for, conſidering how well he was acquainted with the Language and Cuſtoms of *Perſia*, 'tis to be preſumed that he had Reaſon for his Foundation : But as the Abuſe has prevailed ; and as 'tis cuſtomary in *Europe* to give the Kings of *Perſia* of the laſt Race the Title of Sophy, which, with reſpect to us, is become the particular Diſtinction of their Family, I ſhall adhere to this Cuſtom, right or wrong, as I find it eſtabliſhed ; and ſhall give the Name of Sophy to that Family which ſate on the Throne of *Perſia* for two hundred Years, and which is now extinct by the *Schah-Huſſein*'s Abdication.

BUT before I enter into the Hiſtory of this Family, I think I ſhould take Notice, that there is nothing more perplexed than its Beginning. This is own'd by the Authors themſelves that have wrote the Hiſtory of it, who are not at all agreed as to the Manner how *Iſmael*, the firſt King of this Race, came to the Throne ; nor in a Multitude of other important Articles. Mean Time, as I muſt not be altogether neuter in this

this Controverſy, I ſhall adhere chiefly to *Bizarus*, as to thoſe Times of Perplexity and Obſcurity which this Hiſtory mentions, from the Death of *Uſum-Caſſan*, to the Reign of *Iſmael* the firſt King of the Race of the Sophies. I ſhall likewiſe follow him in what relates to the Reign of *Iſmael*, and that of the ſucceeding Kings to *Codabende*, beyond whom his Hiſtory does not extend. As to the Kings of a later Date, I ſhall chuſe out of the Accounts given by the ſeveral Authors, what I think of moſt Authority.

Origin of the Family of the Sophies.

THE Kings of *Perſia* of this Family pretended to be derived from *Ali*, who was Couſin-Germain to *Mahomet*, and his Son-in-Law, by marrying *Fatima* his Daughter. *Ali* ſucceeding his Step-Father, made a very great Alteration in his Law. He added ſome Things, left out others, put new Gloſſes on it, and made ſuch a Reform in it, that it might paſs for a new Law. All theſe Alterations occaſioned a Diviſion in Mahometiſm. The greateſt Number adhered to the Law, as it had been given by *Mahomet*, and as it had been preſerved to them by *Omar*, one of the chief of his Diſciples; and the others declared

red for it as it had been corrected and reformed by *Ali*.

Ali died with Poiſon, and left two Sons; of whom the eldeſt, named *Hocen*, came to the ſame End as his Father. The youngeſt named *Huſſein*, ſucceeding his Brother, ſuffered Death likewiſe, as they ſay, in *Perſia*, for defending the Doctrine of his Father *Ali*; but he left twelve Sons, whom the *Perſians* revere as ſo many Prophets of their Law.

One of the moſt famous of the Twelve was Musa Caim, or, as ſome call him, Mouſsa Kaizem; from whom, after a long Series of Generations, they pretend to derive *Sophy*, the firſt of the Family of this Name, that we know any Thing of. Whether he came from Musa Caim, or no; for this Deſcent is not at all proved, and there is too great a Space between the Trunk and the Branches, for us to be ſure of any Thing in this reſpect; it appears, however, very certain, that he was the firſt that reſcued *Ali*'s Law from the Obſcurity in which it had been buried for many Ages, and made it revive in *Perſia*. In order to diſtinguiſh *Ali*'s Followers from the other Muſſulmen, he made an Order, that inſtead of the Linnen Turbans, commonly worn by the Muſſulmen, the others ſhould wear a red woollen Cap with twelve Folds, in Memory of the twelve Children of *Huſſein*; and 'tis on Account of the Colour of their Tur[illegible]ks call them *Red-Heads*.

This

This Restorer of *Ali*'s Reformation flourished towards the latter End of the fourteenth Century; and there is all the Reason that can be, to think that when *Tamerlane* returned to *Persia*, after the Defeat of *Bajazet*, he gave those Marks of Esteem and Veneration to MUSA CAIM that are said to have been conferred on his Son *Guines*, or his Grandson *Schich-Eidar*, whom others call *Heik-Adar*.

BIZARUS, in his History of the *Persian* Affairs, *Lib.* 10. makes this Compliment to *Guines*; but the Fact cannot be reconciled to Chronology without doing Violence to it: Whereas, by ascribing it to *Sophy*, the Father of *Guines*, all Things agree perfectly well. And there's the more Reason for this, because, according to *Bizarus* himself, *Sophy* flourished at the Time that the *Tartars* prevailed over the *Turks*, that is to say, at the Time of *Bajazet*'s Defeat by *Tamerlane*.

TAVERNIER, I know not why, makes the same Compliment to *Schich-Eidar*, Son to *Guines*; which is an Error that *Gemelli* has exactly copied from him, without perceiving the Ridiculousness of it.

ACCORDING to those two Travellers, *Tamerlane* returning to *Persia*, after having routed and taken *Bajazet*, gave *Schich-Eidar*, in Consideration of his Virtue and Sanctity, a great Number of Captives that he had taken in the last War. Now *Tamerlane* died in 1402. and *Schich-Eidar* must then be a Man at full Growth:

Whereas

Whereas it appears that *Iſmael*, the firſt King of *Perſia* of the *Sophy* Family, and Son to *Schich-Eidar*, was but twenty Years old when he conquered *Perſia* in 1499. and but forty-five when he died in 1534. Were we to ſuppoſe that *Schich-Eidar* was but twenty-five Years old, which is the leaſt that can be ſuppoſed, when the Luſtre of his Reputation and Virtue gained him the Marks of *Tamerlane*'s Eſteem, it would follow that he was above a hundred Years old when he had a Son, who, according to the Teſtimony of Hiſtorians, was not Twenty in 1499. The Truth is, that *Schich-Eidar* cannot be ſuppoſed to have ſeen *Tamerlane*, and that the Thing in Queſtion can hardly be applied even to his Father *Guines*; but that it tallies perfectly with his Grandfather *Sophy*, as I have ſhewn. To him, therefore, was it that *Tamerlane* gave the thirty thouſand Captives, mentioned by *Bizarus*; and probably this was the ſame *Sophy* who, after having inſtructed them in the Principles of his Sect, ſent them abroad to preach it Sword-in-Hand, a Method which *Bizarus* himſelf ſhews he made uſe of for the Propagation of his Doctrine.

Sophy was ſucceeded in his Zeal for the new Sect by his Son *Guines*, of whom we find nothing conſiderable, and who is not ſo much known upon his own perſonal Account, as for the Merit and Reputation of his Son

Son *Schich-Eidar*, to whom the *Sophy* Family properly owes its firſt Riſe in the State.

Schich-Eidar did not keep to the new Plan of Religion, which his Grandfather had preached up, and which his Father had trained him up in; but reformed it as he thought fit, and made a great many Alterations in it. The edifying Life which he led, and the external Appearance of Regularity and Piety which he affected in his whole Conduct, gained him ſo great a Reputation, that the People flocked from the very Heart of *Perſia*, and the furtheſt Parts of *Armenia*, to *Ardevil* the Place of his Birth, in order to hear him, and to be inſtructed in his new Religion. They devoted themſelves to it with Zeal; and when once they had embraced it, obſerved the Rules and Statutes of it, with the moſt ſcrupulous and rigid Nicety. They were the more attached to him, becauſe he made them believe that he had a Revelation that no Muſſulmen ſhould be ſaved, but thoſe who follow'd the Doctrine of *Ali*, ſuch as he preach'd it.

This was his Manner of preaching at *Ardevil* in his own Country, of which, 'tis ſaid, he was Lord as his Anceſtors had been, and from whence he was afterwards called *Hardevil*. But notwithſtanding his high Rank and great Eſtate, in his Manner of Life he was plain, modeſt, and even harſh and auſtere; and manifeſted a vaſt Contempt of Ho-

nour and Wealth; a Virtue so uncommon and extraordinary made such a Figure in *Persia*, and gained him such a Reputation, that, though he was not of Rank enough to aspire to Affinity with a King, yet *Usum-Cassan*, who, from being Governor of *Armenia*, was made King of *Persia*, by dethroning his Master, and who attained to the peaceable Possession of the Throne he had usurped, chose him preferably to the greatest Noblemen in the Kingdom for his Son-in-Law; for he gave him his Daughter *Martha*, whom he had by his Marriage with *Despina*, Daughter of *Calo-Jean*, King of *Trebisond* and *Pontus*.

Usum-Cassan dying in 1478. was succeeded by his third Son *Jacup*, sirnamed *Chierzeinal*, i. e. *One-Ey'd*, because he had lost an Eye. The Father had put the eldest to Death for having rebelled against him; and *Jacup* had poison'd the second, according to some Authors, or, as others say, killed him the very Night that *Usum-Cassan* died, that he might have no Rival in the Throne.

Though he came to it by foul Play, he governed with very great Wisdom and Moderation, to the Satisfaction of all the Provinces: But after he had reigned seven Years he was a Victim to his Queen's Debauchery. His Princess prostituted herself to one of the chief Lords of the Court, whom she loved to Distraction; and not thinking she did enough

for

for ſo dear a Gallant to receive him in her Husband's Bed, if ſhe did not place him alſo upon his Throne, ſhe reſolv'd to diſpatch *Jacup* by Poiſon.

For this End ſhe prepared a Doſe for him, which ſhe offer'd him one Day as he came from bathing. Notwithſtanding the Aſſurance ſhe put on at the very Moment ſhe was acting the Crime, the King her Husband fancying he ſaw an Air of Confuſion in her Countenance, had a Suſpicion of her, and requir'd her to drink firſt. As ſhe could not get off of it without condemning herſelf, ſhe ſwallowed the Poiſon with an affected Intrepidity; which deceiv'd the King, and ſo encourag'd him, that after he had drank of it himſelf, he commended it to the Lips of the Prince his Son, then with him, who was eight Years of Age. The Poiſon was ſo quick, that all three died of it that Night in the Year 1485.

Jacup dying without Iſſue, *Julaver*, one of the firſt Men in the Kingdom, and who was ſomewhat related to him, ſeiz'd the Throne, and reign'd three Years.

Bayſingir ſucceeded him in 1488. and reign'd till 1490. *Ruſtan*, a young Nobleman of twenty Years old, ſat in the Throne after him, and reign'd ſeven Years. It was in his Reign that *Schich-Eidar* of *Ardevil* loſt his Life in the Manner I am going to tell you.

THOUGH no Body had more Right to the Crown than *Schich-Eidar*, on Account of his marrying with the Daughter of *Uſum-Caſſan*, his Birth was ſo unſuitable to that high Rank, and ſo far inferior to the great Men of the Kingdom, that during the Reigns of three Kings, who ſucceeded one another in five Years, there was not only no Talk about him, but the very Perſons who fill'd the Throne, not one of whom had a lawful Right to it, took no Umbrage at the Pretenſions he might form to it.

THE firſt that gave any heed to it was *Ruſtan:* He began to be alarm'd at the Concourſe of the People from all Parts to *Schich-Eidar* at *Ardevil*, to embrace his Religion, and to adhere to his Perſon: He was afraid that the ſecret Affection which the *Perſians* retain'd in their Hearts for the Race of their Kings, and the Veneration they paid to the Virtue of *Schich-Eidar*, would occaſion a Civil War in Favour of a Man that ſeem'd the more worthy of the Throne, becauſe he ſet no Value upon it, notwithſtanding the juſt Claim he had to it. Upon this he reſolv'd to get rid of him, and employ'd Aſſaſſines, who murder'd him at *Ardevil.* He did not ſtop there, but thinking the new Sect, which *Eidar* went about to eſtabliſh, even more dangerous to the State than to the *Muſſulman* Religion, he perſecuted it to ſuch a Degree, that ſeveral who had embrac'd it, abandon'd it.

THESE

THESE were the Measures that *Ruſtan* took to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Throne, when after a Reign of ſeven Years, he was kill'd by *Aghmat*, one of the great Lords of the Kingdom, who taking Advantage of the Kindneſs ſhew'd him by *Ruſtan*'s own Mother, made her an Accomplice in his Treaſon, and got her to conſent to the Death of a Son who lov'd her entirely. But *Aghmat* enjoy'd the Throne he had uſurp'd no more than ſix Months, for the Soldiers of *Ruſtan*'s Guard not caring to obey a Man that had kill'd their King, went to *Carabes*, one of *Ruſtan*'s principal Officers, who liv'd at *Van*, to perſuade him to revenge their old Maſter's Death. This Officer having by their means aſſembled a very conſiderable Body of Troops, march'd ſtrait to *Tauris*, where having ſurpriz'd *Aghmat*, who was in no Condition to make Reſiſtance, he put him to Death with Torture. The Throne being vacant by this Uſurper's Death, a Nobleman nam'd *Alvante*, who was the neareſt a-kin to *Uſum-Caſſan*, was choſe to fill it. Such was the Deſtiny of *Perſia*, from the Death of *Uſum-Caſſan* and his Son *Jacup*, till at laſt *Iſmael*, the Son of the famous *Schich-Eidar* of *Ardevil* fix'd in his Family, in the Manner hereafter mention'd, that Sceptre which for a Series of 1400 or 1500 Years had paſs'd through ſo many different Hands.

ISMAEL,

King of Perſia, *the Firſt of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1499.

SCHICH-EIDAR, whom *Ruſtan*, at that Time King of *Perſia*, caus'd to be murder'd at *Ardevil*, left three Sons on his Death-Bed, who would have run the ſame Hazard as their Father, if they had fallen into that Prince's Hands. The two eldeſt, who were of Age to ſee their Danger, fled, one to *Aſia Minor*, the other to *Aleppo*; *Iſmael*, the third of them, who was but a Child, was ſnatch'd from the Danger by his Father's Friends, who ſent him to *Hyrcania*, or *Ghilan*, where they put him under the Protection of a Nobleman, nam'd *Pyrchalim*, a Friend to their Family, who was Maſter of ſeveral Places on the *Caſpian* Sea.

PYRCHALIM, who took great Care of his Education, caus'd him to be brought up in the Principles of the Sect of his Father *Schich-Eidar;* and the young Man underſtanding that this was the beſt Way to form a great Party, and to gain the Favour of the Populace, of which he had need to ſupport the juſt Pretenſions he had to the Throne, ſhewed a great Zeal to propagate that new Religion, and

and to obſerve it. As he was extremely well made, had a noble and happy Phyſiognomy, and a great Share of Eloquence and Courage; ſo advantageous an Idea was conceiv'd of his Perſon, that not only the common People, with whom his Father was ſo much in Vogue, join'd with him, but thoſe of Quality began to eſpouſe him, to which the Prognoſticks his Father had form'd of him, may be ſaid to have contributed not a little. For *Schich-Eidar*, who was a very skilful Aſtrologer, and whom the People ſtill rever'd as a Saint and a Prophet, ventur'd at one of thoſe Predictions in Favour of *Iſmael*, that never hurt ſuch for whoſe Advantage they are made, and which are often of great Help to them in the Execution of their Projects, by prepoſſeſſing the common People in their Favour. He had foretold that this Son ſhould be a great Prophet and Conqueror; and that by his Zeal, and by the Conqueſt of a great Part of the Eaſt, he would one Day equal the Glory of *Mahomet* himſelf.

As ſoon as *Iſmael* was grown up, and began to appear in the World, his Behaviour was ſuch as could not but confirm the great Hopes they had conceiv'd of him; and by the noble Indifference he ſhew'd upon all Occaſions for Government and Grandeur, he chalk'd himſelf out a Path to it; which was ſo much the ſafer, becauſe he ſeem'd to be the more worthy of it; yet, as an honeſt Care to reco-

ver his Patrimony, was not at all inconſiſtent with the Diſintereſtedneſs which he valued himſelf for, he made uſe of this Plea to arm a good Number of his Diſciples; and having reinforced them with ſome Succours which were ſent to him from *Pyrchalim*, he enter'd *Armenia*, where the Lands were that *Uſum-Caſſan* had given his Mother for her Dowry, and took Poſſeſſion of them by Force of Arms.

This firſt Succeſs, as well as the good Condition of his Troops, gave his Party Reputation, and regain'd him a great Number of his Father's old Diſciples, who had been obliged by his Misfortunes and the Perſecution to abandon his Sect: As they had all along retain'd their Principles, they devoted themſelves to him with the more Zeal. Being reinforced by theſe new Soldiers, who liſted in his Army, he went and attack'd the Caſtle of *Marmurlac*, which was full of Riches. After having forc'd and plunder'd it, he led his Army againſt *Sumach*, the Capital of *Meſopotamia*; which he alſo took, and gave the Plunder to his Troops.

The Noiſe of theſe firſt Exploits made his Name ſo famous, and the Booty which his Soldiers had taken under his Command, was ſuch a Temptation to the Populace of the neighbouring Countries, that they came in from all Quarters to his Standard; and as he found Arms in the Places he had pillag'd, to furniſh a great Part of the Multitude who had

had none, he found himself at the Head of a considerable Army, and in a Capacity to go upon greater Enterprizes than the Attack of Towns and Castles: He flatter'd himself from that Time with Ideas of the most shining Fortune, and proposing to himself no less than the entire Conquest of *Persia*; he carried his Army towards *Tauris*, which was then the capital City, and where *Alvante*, lately placed upon the Throne, as we said before, had his Residence.

This Prince was but just rid of the Confusion of a Civil War, in which he had been engag'd with *Moratcham* his Brother, or as some will have it, his Son, who disputed the Crown with him, and who having lost a Battle, fled out of the Dominions of *Persia* and *Armenia*. The Persecutions and Cruelties which *Alvante* exercised after his Victory, against several of the chief Families of *Tauris*, who had taken Part with his Competitor, gave *Ismael* a very fair Opportunity; for being inform'd how ill the King was belov'd in that City, where there was scarce a Family but had felt the Effects of his Vengeance, he hasten'd his March, and no sooner came before the Town, but the Gates were open'd to him. King *Alvante*, who not expecting this Irruption into his Capital, was destitute of all the necessary Forces to hold out a Siege, and who knew, besides, that he had as many Enemies in the City as there were Inhabi-

tants, fled at the Approach of the Army, and retir'd towards *Armenia*. *Ismael* enter'd with Triumph into *Tauris*, without shedding any Blood, but that of some of the fugitive King's Guards, who did not make haste enough to follow him; so that by the most fortunate Event in the World, he was immediately Master of the chief City of the Kingdom, without drawing a Sword.

Nevertheless he was not so puffed up with his good Fortune, but that he consider'd, that as long as King *Alvante* was alive, he should not be absolute in *Persia*. He made the more haste to pursue him, because he heard that the two Brothers being reconcil'd, to repel their common Enemy, *Moratcham*, who was raising Troops in *Assyria* towards *Babylon*, was preparing to go and join his Brother *Alvante*, who was already at the Head of a great Army in *Armenia*; *Ismael* prevented them from joining, and having surpriz'd *Alvante*, defeated him in a Battle, in which the Prince himself was kill'd, fighting at the Head of his Troops. *Moratcham*, who was just coming to join his Brother, hearing of his Defeat and Death, carried his Army towards *Tauris*, in order to take Possession of it; but *Ismael* being inform'd of his Design, met him half Way, totally routed him, and put him to Flight. This was in the Year 1499. which is reckon'd the First of *Ismael*'s Reign.

Mo-

MORATCHAM retiring for Protection to *Aladul*, King of *Cappadocia*, *Ismael* entered that King's Dominions the next Year, *viz.* 1500. with an Army of 70000 Men, but had no great Success, his Forces suffering there very much from the Severity of the Season, and the Scarcity of Provisions. He returned thither the Year following with an Army of 40000 Men, and defeated *Aladul* and *Moratcham* near *Babylon*. *Moratcham* fled to the Sultan of *Egypt*, and returned to *Persia* no more. *Aladul*, retired to *Capadocia*; and *Ismael* improving his Victory, reduced *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and all the neighbouring Provinces to his Obedience.

ISMAEL having no more Enemies to think of, marched against the *Albanians*, the *Iberians*, (now the *Georgians*,) and the *Tartars*, who for four Years past had not paid Tribute to *Persia*, to which he obliged them again to submit. Then he turned his Arms against the King of *Samarcand*, a very powerful Prince, and gained a more signal Victory over him, than all he had won yet, which alarmed the Sultan of *Egypt*, and even the Grand-Seignior, who was then *Bajazet* II.

HE warred with him, and *Selym* his Successor. The first War was only carried on between their Lieutenants. In the second, *Selym* came in Person, and took *Tauris* from *Ismael*; but at the Noise of his Approach, *Selym* was obliged to retreat with Precipitation;

tation ; and, though he had the Advantage over *Iſmael* by Means of his Artillery, in which the *Turks*, at that Time, were much better skilled than the *Perſians*, he loſt ſo many Men in this War, and the Janizaries were ſo diſcouraged at it, that they feared nothing ſo much as that they ſhould be obliged to make War in *Perſia*. As the Turks had the Advantage in Artillery, *Iſmael* had better Troops than his, which were ſo zealouſly and inviolably attach'd to him, that, during theſe Wars, though a great Number of Deſerters came from the *Turks* Camp to that of the *Perſians*, who were by that Means informed of the State of the Enemy's Army, never any *Perſian* deſerted from *Iſmael*'s Camp to that of the *Turks*. Moreover the *Perſians* were prepoſſeſſed with ſo high an Eſteem for *Iſmael*, that they looked upon him as a Man altogether divine, thought they had nothing to fear while they fought under his Orders, and braved the greateſt Dangers, and Death itſelf, with an unſhaken Intrepidity ; ſo that he held out to the very laſt, againſt all the Efforts of the *Turks*, who could never recover an Inch of all the Ground that he had conquered. He died in 1525. at forty-five Years of Age, a quiet Poſſeſſor of one of the largeſt and moſt powerful Monarchies in the World ; and reputed one of the greateſt and moſt famous Kings that ever ruled in the Eaſt. He left four Sons, of whom *Thamas* the Eldeſt, that we

are

are now to treat of, was his Succeſſor in the Throne, the three others having had each their particular Appanage, as ſettled by *Iſmael.*

THAMAS,

Son of ISMAEL, *ſecond King of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1525.

WERE we to judge of this ſecond King of the *Sophies*, according to the Picture which *Olearius*, and ſome others, have drawn of him, he was a very ſorry Original: But *Bizarus*, in his Hiſtory of *Perſia*, and *Chalcondile* in that of the *Turks*, give us a better Character of him, though they agree as to the Faults which others charge him with. To form a ſolid Judgment of this Prince, 'tis neceſſary to conſider him in two Views, namely in Peace, and in War. In the firſt of theſe Views, he was a very bad King, covetous of his Subjects Wealth, committing the moſt crying Acts of Injuſtice, from the Temptation of trifling Profit, and abandoning the Government wholly to his Miniſters, while he devoted himſelf entirely to Eaſe and Pleaſure, ſhut up in his Haram, where he was once ten Years together, and never went abroad.

But if we consider him in the second View, that is to say, in the Times of Disturbance and War, he will be a very great Gainer; for though he had no intrepid Valour, nor all the Capacity of *Ismael* his Father, and though the Turks took *Babylon* from him, with *Mesopatamia* and *Assyria*; yet he conducted himself like an able Prince in his Wars; and if he had but behaved as well in Time of Peace, he would not have been much to blame.

Thamas was but eighteen Years of Age when he succeeded to the Crown in 1525. He had three Brothers *Helcas*, *Becram*, and *Sormisa*, each of whom had his Appanage settled on them by the King their Father. *Helcas* had for his Share *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, with the City of *Babylon*. *Becram*, had *Media*, *Georgia*, and *Albania*, toward the *Caspian-Sea*. *Sormisa* had *Parthia*, which is now the Province of *Corasan*.

But all these Appanages were joined afterwards to the Crown of *Persia*, by the Death of those Princes. *Helcas* revolting during the Wars with the Turks, was taken by the Troops of the King his Brother, who put him to Death: *Thamas* got rid of the second Brother after the same Manner, for fear he should rebel; and the third died a natural Death.

Thamas reigned nine Years, without any considerable War to carry on abroad: But in

in 1534. *Solyman* being partly encouraged by *Ulama*, a *Persian* Nobleman, and Brother-in-Law to *Thamas*, who came to him for Protection, marched with his Army, againſt *Perſia*, and advanced as far as *Tauris*, which he took without committing any Diſorder in it. From thence he advanced to *Sultania*, a City which was formerly the Reſidence of the Kings of *Perſia*, and which *Tamerlane* had uſed very ill. *Solyman* II. halting for ſome Time in the Neighbourhood of that City, was diſlodged from thence by one of the moſt furious Storms that Hiſtory makes mention of. He returned towards *Aſſyria*, where he made himſelf Maſter of *Babylon*, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned King of *Perſia* by the Califf of that City, to whom that Function appertained in Quality of Sovereign Pontiff of the Mahometan Religion. After this Conqueſt, all the Cities of *Aſſyria* and *Meſopotamia*, opened their Gates to *Solyman*, who alſo reduced *Curdiſtan*, and *Diarbeck* under his Obedience. He ſpent the Winter at *Babylon*, and with the Reinforcement of the Troops that came to him from *Egypt* and *Syria*, he returned towards *Tauris*. *Thamas*, who took Poſt in that City after *Solyman*'s Departure, marched off at the Approach of the Army, as he had done the Year before, and retired to the Mountains to watch for an Opportunity of ſurprizing the Enemies Army. But as he left *Tauris* this Year

Year 1535. he made such great Spoil in all the neighbouring Provinces, that the Enemy's Army being almost starved, was oblied to quit *Persia*. *Thamas*, who was again just entered into *Tauris*, where *Solyman* had laid all Places waste this second Time, gave the Command of his Troops to *Deliment*, a brave *Caramenian*, who pursued and overtook the Turks near *Betlis*, on the left Side of the Lake of *Van*, upon the 13th of *October*, where surprizing them in the Disorder of a Retreat, when they least of all expected it, he cut them in Pieces, and gained one of the compleatest Victories over them, that the *Persians* ever had over the *Turks*. Though *Solyman* had taken *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia* from *Persia*, these Conquests cost him so dear that he repented he ever undertook them; and at his Return to *Constantinople* put to Death *Ibrahim Pacha* his Favourite, who had been the Instigator of that War. 'Tis reckon'd that out of 500000 Men, who passed the *Euphrates* to attack *Persia*, not 80000 returned to *Constantinople*.

After this Loss, *Solyman* left *Persia*, and *Thamas* in Peace till 1548. when the War broke out again between those two Powers, upon Account of *Bajazet*, Son to *Solyman*, who fled for Refuge to *Persia*, and whom *Thamas* would not surrender to *Solyman*, when he demanded him. *Solyman* took the Field with an Army of 200000 Men. *Thamas*

mas, who had above 100000, having obtained of the *Portugueſe*, at that Time very powerful in *Aſia*, a Body of 10000 Men of their Nation, with twenty Pieces of Cannon, met with the Turks on the Bank of the *Euphrates*, whom he attacked in Perſon, and by the Valour of the *Portugueſe*, entirely defeated. *Solyman* himſelf, who was wounded in this Battle, loſt 130000 Men there, beſides ſeveral Thouſands, who died, either of their Wounds, or of Poverty and Miſery in the Retreat. This Battle was fought in 1549. A Peace was concluded ſoon after at the Expence of *Bajazet*'s Life, whom *Thamas*, at the Demand of *Solyman*, put to Death. This Turkiſh Emperor dying in 1556. was ſucceeded by his Son *Selym* II. with whom *Thamas* renewed the Peace he had made with *Solyman*. Affairs remained in that State all the reſt of the Reign of *Thamas*, who died in 1576. aged about Sixty-eight. He was of a middle Stature, very robuſt of Body, had a tawny Complexion, and pretty wide Lips. He fixed his Reſidence at *Casbin*, abandoning *Taurus*, which had ever been the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the uſual Seat of the Kings his Predeceſſors. What gave him a Diſguſt of that Place was, that as it lay neat *Ardevil*, where he was born, he did not care to be in a City, where he might be often put in Mind of the mean Condition of *Schich-Eidar* his Grandfather. He nominated

nated for his Succeſſor *Caidar Mirizes*, the third of his Sons, a Youth of ſeventeen Years of Age, whom he tenderly loved, and who was already as Lientenant-General to the King his Father, over all the Kingdom. But the *Perſian* Grandees, who did not like this Choice paid no Regard to it, and offered the Crown to *Codabende*, the eldeſt Son, who was at that Time in the Province of *Coraſan*. But he refuſing it, they gave it to *Iſmael*, the ſecond Son of *Thamas*, of whom we are now to give an Account.

ISMAEL II.

Son of THAMAS, *Third King of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1575.

HE was forty-three Years of Age, and actually a Priſoner, when, upon the Refuſal of *Codabende*, his elder Brother, he was placed upon the Throne. This Prince, who delighted in War, in which he was well verſed, and very fortunate, had oppoſed the Enterprizes of the *Turkiſh Pachas*, who, notwithſtanding the Truce betwixt *Perſia* and the Grand-Seignior, took the Liberty to make ſeveral Incurſions into the King's Territories. He beat them in three conſiderable Rencounters; in one of which he cut in Pieces the Troops

Troops of the Pacha of *Erzeron*, who narrowly escaped with his Life. Instead of placing these Actions to the Account of his Services, they went for Crimes at Court, where *Maessum Bech*, who did not care for him, and had the Ear of *Thamas* more than any other of his Ministers, put an odious Construction upon them, by representing to the King that *Ismael*'s raising Troops, and making War of his own Head in a Time of Truce, was something too presuming for a young Prince, who could do no more if he had the Scepter in his Hands. He added that *Ismael* already thought himself independent; and in order to give the King his Father such Proofs of it, as might astonish him, he put into his Hands several of this young Princes Letters, whereby he solicited the Governors of the Places in his Neighbourhood to join with him in a War against the Turks, notwithstanding the Truce. There needed nothing more to alarm the suspicious Temper of the Father, who by the Advice of his Minister, caused the Prince *Ismael* his Son to be arrested, and clapped him up in the Fort of *Kahkae*, near *Ardevil*, the same where Prince *Helcas*, the King's Brother, was Prisoner, when he was put to Death. *Ismael* was kept under strict Confinement there several Years. The King his Father, who loved him, and did Justice to his Merit, was tempted several Times to restore him to his Liberty, and would have

done it, if thoſe ſame great Qualities which he eſteemed him for, and the Affection of the People, who were extreamly prepoſſeſſed in his Favour, had not made him jealous that he would dethrone him. This Surmiſe made the greater Impreſſion on the King, becauſe it was artfully fomented by the Great Men of the Court, and by the Governors of the Provinces, who were jealous of *Iſmael*'s haughty proud Spirit, and afraid that if ever he came to be their Maſter, he would turn them out of their Governments, and put his Confidents in their Places. Mean while the King his Father, afraid to do any Thing more for him, endeavoured at leaſt to make his Priſon comfortable to him, by ſending him very pretty Women. But the Prince never went near them; and ſent to acquaint the King his Father, that for his own part he was very eaſy under his Confinment; but he did not know whether he ſhould have Fortitude enough to bear the Impriſonment of his Children, in caſe he had any; and that he had rather have none, than live to ſee them miſerable. To this he added, that Pleaſures of that Nature were not calculated for Men reduced to that State of Slavery which he laboured under.

This was the Diſpoſition of his Mind, when he was tranſlated on a ſudden from a Priſon to a Throne; which when he aſcended, he verify'd what was formerly ſaid with Reſpect to *Tiberius*, that Princes who come to it by ſuch

Steps

Steps are generally cruel. For he began his Reign by putting his Brother *Caidar Mirifes* to Death. Then being curious to discover which of the Grandees had perswaded the King his Father to keep him so long in Prison, he made use of the very Stratagem that *Usum-Cassan* had formerly employ'd with Success to catch his eldest Son, who was in Rebellion against him: He shut himself up for a few Days in his Palace, and would suffer none but some of his most trusty Domesticks to see him. After some Time he ordered them to give out that he was dead, and to make all the Ceremonies and Preparations usually made in the like Cases. Every Thing succeeded to his Wish: Those who were disaffected to him, thinking him really dead, did not dissemble their Sentiments with regard to a King from whom they thought they had nothing more to fear. The King who had his Spies and Eve-Droppers, was informed of every Thing; and, as soon as he appeared again in publick, caused some to be taken up, while others, conscious of their Guilt, ran away to the Extremities of the Kingdom. The King, being informed of it, presently mounted his Horse to pursue them with what Cavalry he had. The Turks, who knew that he was advancing to the Frontier, were alarmed, and construing his March as a Declaration of War, took the Field, and made Incursions into the King's Territories. *Ismael* was vexed at this Dis-

apointment; and that he might not have two different Wars to carry on at the ſame Time, one abroad againſt the Turks, the other at home againſt the Great Men, becauſe of the Jealouſy he had given them, he put ſuch of the latter as he moſt ſuſpected to Death, and prepared for a War with the Turks; during which he was poiſoned by his Siſter *Perſanconcona*, at the Inſtigation of the Great Men of the Kingdom, and of his own Brothers, who dreaded his Cruelty. He died in 1577.

MAHOMET CODABENDE,

Son of THAMAS, *and elder Brother to* ISMAEL II. *fourth King of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1577.

AFTER the Death of *Iſmael* II. the Great Men of the Kingdom ſent another Deputation to *Codabende*, who ſtill remained in the Province of *Coraſſan*, to preſs him to accept of the Crown. He excuſed himſelf for a Time, but at laſt yielded to the vigorous Inſtances of the Deputies, and repairing to *Casbin*, was there proclaimed King to the great Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, which was very much prepoſſeſſed in Favour of a Prince, whom they thought the more worthy of the Throne, becauſe he had refuſed it.

AUTHORS

Authors ſpeak ſo variouſly of him, that 'tis a hard Matter to form a certain Judgment of him. *Bizarus* who wrote his Hiſtory in the Life-time of this Prince, ſpeaks of him in *Lib.* xi. as of a King who propoſed to himſelf to imitate ſuch of the Kings, his Predeceſſors, as had the Honour of the Kingdom, and the Augmentation of its Power moſt at Heart. *Olearius*, who travelled in *Perſia* in the Reign of *Sefi* his Great-Grandſon, and about fifty Years after his Death, pretends, that the *Perſian* Authors ſay, on the contrary, that never Prince held a Scepter with more Indolence; that his whole Delight was to ſhut himſelf up in his Palace, and to ſpend his Time in Gaming, and with the Ladies; that he had no good Succeſs in War; and that the Enemies of the State, that is to ſay, the *Turks* on the one hand, and the *Usbecks* on the other, taking the Advantage of his Weakneſs, took away ſeveral Provinces from the Crown, which they kept during his whole Reign. *Chalcondile*, when he mentions his Acceſſion to the Crown, gives very near the ſame Account of him; but when he comes to Particulars, he is in more than one Inſtance almoſt as favourable to him as *Bizarus*.

There's all the Appearance in the World that he had the Sentiments which *Bizarus* aſcribes to him; and 'tis certain, that if he had been as effeminate and ſilly as the Author and

his Enemies repreſent him to be, he could not have conducted himſelf with ſo much Skill and Succeſs, as he did in the War which he was engaged in with the *Turks*, during the whole Courſe of his Reign. 'Tis true, that as he had naturally weak Eyes, not from a red-hot Plate of Gold held againſt them by Order of his Brother *Iſmael*, (for neither *Bizarus*, nor *Chalcondile*, nor *Olearius*, ſpeak of it,) but from a Defect of Nature, or ſome Fit of Sickneſs, he carried on the War againſt them more by his Lieutenants, than by himſelf, and generally ſhut himſelf up in his Palace; which perhaps is the Reaſon that he was reckoned, though unjuſtly, to be a Prince of fewer Abilities than he was really poſſeſſed of.

He began his Reign with the Death of three of his Brothers, who fled away preſently towards the *Turks* Frontier; but he allur'd them to Court by fine Promiſes, and then put them to Death. Being engaged in a War with the *Turks*, in the very firſt Year of his Reign, he gave the Command of his Army to his eldeſt Son, who immediately took from them the City of *Van*, upon the Confines of *Armenia*, and gained a great Victory over them in 1577.

He afterwards obtained another more conſiderable Victory near *Babylon*, where, 'tis ſaid, the *Turks* had 70000 Men killed. They loſt 80000 more upon another Occaſion; when, however,

however, the *Perſians* dearly purchaſed the Victory by the Loſs of 44000 Men on their Side: But they retook the City of *Szamachi*, which the *Turks* had lately taken in *Schirvan*, a Province that lies on the weſt Side of the *Caſpian Sea*. This happened in 1578.

THE *Turks* received another more fatal Shock the Year following. They had ſent 25000 Horſe and 7000 Camels to a Plain abounding with Forage, in order to refreſh them, with 30000 Men to guard them. The *Perſians* who were but four Days March from that Place, being informed of the Negligence and Security to which thoſe Troops abandoned themſelves, went and ſurpriſed them in the Night-time, and gave them ſuch a total Rout, that, 'tis ſaid, neither Man, Horſe, nor Camel eſcaped. *Muſtapha*, the Grand Viſier, who commanded the *Ottoman* Army was recalled to *Conſtantinople*, and being depoſed, was his own Executioner.

SINAN PACHA, who ſucceeded him, was ſent to *Perſia* to command the Army. But as a Grand Viſier likes better to ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, than to have any Commiſſion, how honourable ſoever, he was ſo preſſing for his Return, that by the Favour of a *Perſian* Ambaſſador, who came to his Camp to make Propoſals of Peace to him, he obtained Leave from *Amwrath* III. to return to *Conſtantinople*, and to carry the *Perſian* Ambaſ-

ſador thither with him, which he did in 1582 *Mahomet Pacha*, who was ſent in his Place; was not more fortunate than the other Generals who ſerved in that War before him. He was entirely routed in *Georgia* by the *Perſians* and *Georgians* in Conjuction, and loſt all his Baggage. *Chalcondile* himſelf owns all theſe Advantages of the *Perſians* over the *Turks*, who indeed took ſome Places from them, but paid very dear for them by the great Number of Men they loſt upon all thoſe Occaſions, and others afterwards; from whence 'tis natural to infer, that a Prince who was capable of carrying on ſo ſharp a War, and with ſo much Succeſs as *Codabende* did, during his whole Reign, was not ſo contemptible as ſome Hiſtorians have made him. He died in 1585. and left three Sons. The two firſt reigned a few Months only, and the Third, who was *Abas* the Great, many Years. Moſt of the Authors who treat of the Kings of the Family of the *Sophies*, make no Mention of the two former, and conſequently do not rank them in the Number of Kings. But I thought fit to give them that Place upon the Authority of *Olearius*, who having reſided ſome Time at the Court of *Perſia*, nine Years after the Death of *Schah-Abas* the Great, could not but be well informed of what he ſays relating to the Fate of this Prince's two elder Brothers.

EMIR

EMIR HEMSE.

The eldeſt Son of CODABENDE, *Fifth King of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1585.

HE ſucceeded his Father as the Eldeſt of his Children; but *Iſmael* having gained the Grandees of the Court to conſent to his Death, cauſed him to be murder'd in his very Chamber by Aſſaſſines, who in the Diſguiſe of Women deceived the Kings Guards. *Olearius* ſays, he reigned eight Months, as well as *Iſmael* his Succeſſor; which wou'd make a Year and four Months for both: Wherein he manifeſtly contradicts himſelf; becauſe by making *Abas* the laſt of the three Brothers to reign the ſame Year that *Codabende* died, *i. e.* 1585. 'tis impoſſible that his two elder Brothers ſhould have ſixteen Months Reign between them. All that can be ſaid, is, that they reigned a very ſhort Time; but how long, cannot be exactly determined.

ISMAEL

ISMAEL III.

Second Son of CODABENDE, *Sixth King of the Family of the Sophies, in* 1585.

HE was no ſooner got upon the Throne by the Murder of one Brother, than he thought to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of it, by diſpatching his youngeſt Brother *Mirza Abas*; but he was prevented by the latter's Governor *Murſched-Kuli-Kan*, who being ſenſible that his own Life depended on his Maſter's, engaged ſome Grandees of the Court to diſpatch *Iſmael;* and, for that Purpoſe, they employ'd his Valet de Chambre and Barber, who, while he was ſhaving him, cut his Throat. The Lords who were preſent at this Execution, and Accomplices of it, killed the Valet de Chambre that very Inſtant to prevent Diſcovery. Thus *Iſmael*'s Reign was almoſt as ſhort as his elder Brother's; and he left the Crown to *Abas*, who took Poſſeſſion of it without any Rival.

ABAS *the Great*,

Third Son of CODABENDE, *and Seventh King of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1585.

THIS Prince in the Life-time of the King his Father, reſided at *Heri*, or *Herat*, a Town of *Coraſſan*, governing what belonged to *Perſia* in that Province. *Codabende*'s Prime Miniſter *Mirza-Salmas*, who did not love him, and only meant to ſacrifice him to the Intereſt of the Prince *Emir Hemſe* his Son-in-Law, made the King believe that *Abas* was in Rebellion againſt him, and aimed at the Crown; and adviſed him to go and beſiege him in *Heri*, in order to make ſure of his Perſon. *Abas*, who was informed of it, and was always very ſubmiſſive to the King his Father, ſent him two Lords, who were his truſty Friends, and went and made an Offer to the King of their Heads, in caſe that *Abas* ſhould appear guilty of the leaſt Diſobedience. The Affair being ſtrictly examined according to the Informations which the King ordered throughout the Province, and Parts adjacent, *Abas* was proved to be innocent, and the Prime Miniſter, on the contrary, being found guilty, had his Head cut off.

THIS

THIS Prince was the greateſt King that had been in *Perſia* for many Ages; and his Memory is held in the higheſt Veneration there to this Day. He was but eighten Years of Age, when he aſcended the Throne. Though at that Time he gave great Hopes of what he would be one Day, he even ſurpaſſed all Expectation; and, excepting ſome Acts of Cruelty, for which he may juſtly be reproached, he had all the Qualifications of a great Prince. He gave full Indication in the Inſtances of his Reign, that he was not of a Humour to be governed; for *Murſched-Kuli-Kan*, who had been his Governor in his Youth, and to whom he owed the Crown, valuing himſelf too much on his Services, and ſtill pretending to controul him, rendered himſelf ſo odious to *Abas*, that this Prince, after having given him the firſt Blow himſelf, cauſed him to be diſpatched by one of that Lord's Grooms, who came thither upon hearing the Noiſe, and whom the King rewarded with the Title of Kan, and the Government of *Herat*; and next Day he cauſed all the Friends and Relations of the Deceaſed to be put to Death, that he might never be uneaſy under the Apprehenſion of what they might do by way of Revenge.

THE too cruel Severity which he exerciſed in this Inſtance upon the Man to whom he had greater and more ſubſtantial Obligations, than to all Men living, convinced all the

the Grandees that they had to do with a Sovereign that would govern by himſelf, and whoſe Miniſters ſhould be meer Miniſters, that is to ſay, always very dependant and ſubordinate.

FINDING upon his Acceſſion to the Crown that the Kingdom was very much waſted by the Conqueſts which the *Turks* had made on one Side, and the *Usbeck-Tartars* on the other, he reſolved from that Moment to recover the Poſſeſſion of all the Provinces that had been taken from it. He began with the Province of *Coraſſan*, ſituate on the South-Eaſt of the *Caſpian Sea*, of which *Perſia* had only a little Corner remaining, where he himſelf had commanded during his Father's Reign. He made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of this Province to one End of it, from which he obliged *Abdulla*, Prince of the *Usbecks*, to retire, by forcing him back to *Meſzat*, or *Meſched*, a Place become ſo famous ſince, by the Pilgrimage which this very *Abas* eſtabliſhed thither, and which ſerves the *Perſians* inſtead of the Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. After having ſtaid in this Province three Years to confirm his Dominion there, *Abdulla* made an Effort to get into it again: But the Enterprize was fatal to him; for his Army was entirely defeated; and falling into the Conquerors Hands, together with his Brother *Tilem-Kam*, and his three Sons, *Abas* cauſed all their Heads to be cut off.

After having secured *Coraſſan* by this Execution, and by the good Order he eſtabliſhed there, he turned his Arms againſt the *Turks*; from whom he had much more to reconquer, and who were Enemies much more powerful, and more formidable than the *Usbecks*. As to the Events of this War, I will not enter into a Detail which is not conſiſtent with a ſhort Hiſtory, and which would require a large Volume, but ſhall mention enough to give the Reader a true Idea of the Splendor and Power, which *Schach-Abas* then re-eſtabliſhed in *Perſia*, of which he was afterwards, with juſt Reaſon, deem'd the Restorer.

It muſt be ſuppoſed, in the firſt Place, that the *Turks* had conquered from *Perſia*, ſince the Death of *Iſmael* I. at leaſt one hundred and fifty Leagues in Length from South to North, reckoning from *Tauris* to the Extremities of the Kingdom of *Caket*, and as much more in Breadth, from the Weſtern Coaſt of the *Caſpian Sea* to the *Black Sea*, that is to ſay, as much as they and the *Muſcovites* have conquered of it in the late Revolution. 'Tis true, that they have now puſhed their Conqueſts farther into the Heart of *Perſia*, where they are Maſters of the Country, as far as *Amadan*, which is above ſeventy Leagues South of *Tauris*; but, beſides the Weſtern Coaſt of the *Caſpian Sea*, which they don't poſſeſs at this Day, though they were Maſ-

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ters of it at that Time, they had alſo taken from *Perſia* the Village of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, with all *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*.

SCHAH-ABAS retook all thoſe Countries during his Reign; and beſides that, he conquer'd from the *Turks* a great many Places upon the *Black Sea*, and even a Harbour near *Trebiſond*. He took as many along the *Red Sea* to the Ocean, reckoning from the Mouth of the *Euphrates*. He took *Balſora* in the *Perſian* Gulph, and carried his Conqueſts ſo far into *Arabia*, from whence he thought to drive out every *Turk*, that he actually ſeiz'd *Medina*, a Town famous for having been the Reſidence of the Prophet *Mahomet*. He alſo took the Iſle of *Ormus* from the *Portugueſe*, and very much weakened their Power in the *Indies*. In ſhort, conſider him only on the Foot of his military Atchievements, he may paſs for one of the greateſt Captains that ever was in *Perſia*.

BUT as by all theſe great Feats of Arms, he ſhewed himſelf an able Soldier, he diſcovered that he had yet greater Talents as a Stateſman, by the Meaſures he took to make himſelf abſolute in his Kingdom, and to civilize it. He was the firſt that, as we may ſay, made the Kings of *Perſia* free Men.

WHEN he came to the Crown, Part of the Kingdom was, as it were, parcell'd among twenty petty Princes, who had each the Soreignty of the Countries they had uſurp'd, and

ſupported one another in a total Independency on the Kings of *Perſia*. Theſe Kings were not abſolute, as they have been ſince: They depended on the Grandees, and the Troops, which though maintain'd at their Expence, preſcrib'd Laws to them ſometimes, depos'd them, and actually took away their Lives. *Schach-Abas* having reſolved to eſtabliſh a Syſtem of deſpotick and arbitrary Government in his Kingdom, ſuch as it has been ſince his Time, he made it his Buſineſs to ruin the Veteran Troops, and the antient Families of the Country. He gain'd his Point by the gradual Deſtruction of the *Courtches*, from whom thoſe Families were deſcended, and of which conſiſted that Body of Militia which was moſt formidable to the Kings; but he did not take off the Mask in this Reſpect, till after he had fill'd his Court and his Troops with thoſe People that inhabited the Northern Extremities of *Perſia*, as the *Georgians*, and other adjacent Countries; for being originally Chriſtians, they were naturally Enemies to the *Courtches*, as deſcended from thoſe antient *Turcomanians* and *Saracens*, ſo famous in Hiſtory for their Invaſions, and for all the Miſchiefs which they formerly did the Chriſtians. In the mean Time he kept fair with the Grand Seigniors, of whom he ſtood in need in his War he made againſt the *Turks*. But *Sefi*, his Grandſon and Succeſſor, finiſh'd the Scheme on that Side of which he had only

only form'd the Plan. As to the antient Militia of the *Courtches*, though it has ſubſiſted ever ſince, yet the Kings of *Perſia*, Succeſſors of him whom we are now treating of, hath always kept that Body ſo much under, that they were never in a Condition to give them the leaſt Uneaſineſs. From him alſo they learn'd, according to the Method of the *Turks*, to truſt the Miniſtry and great Offices of the Kingdom, in the Hands only of Foreigners, who being originally Slaves, are not attach'd by the Ties of Blood, either to their Equals, or to the Grandees of the Kingdom; ſo that the Government which was antiently very temperate, is by his Management become deſpotick and abſolute to ſuch a Degree, that it may be ſaid, that there is not, perhaps, in the Univerſe, a King that is more Maſter of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, than was *Schah-Abas* and his Succeſſors.

In the Midſt of ſo much Glory and Power, ſo great and ſo well eſtabliſh'd, he had the Misfortune to entertain unjuſt Suſpicions of his own Children. Of three Sons that he had, he caus'd the Eyes of the two Youngeſt to be bored out, reſerving the Eldeſt nam'd *Sefi Myrza*, to be his Succeſſor; but this young Prince having a Son nam'd *Sain-Murza*, *Schah-Abas* who ſaw *Sefi-Mirza* of Age to ſucceed him, and did not doubt, but the Grandees to whom he had render'd himſelf odious, during the whole Courſe of his Reign,

would assist the young Prince to dethrone him if he should offer to undertake it, thought he could not be safe against Alarms, but by putting him to Death. The Blow was no sooner struck, but he sorely repented it. He shut himself up for ten Days in a dark Place, and shed Tears incessantly: He put on Mourning for a whole Year, and during the Remainder of his Life, wore the plainest Habits, without any Ornament.

In 1629. he fell into a dangerous Fit of Illness, and finding his End drawing near, he nominated for his Successor, his Grandson *Sain-Mirza*, charging four of his Prime Officers, that he could most confide in, to instal him in the Throne after his Death, and to make him take the Name of *Sefi*, which was the Name of his Father. Those Lords telling him at that Time of a Prophecy which some Astrologers had made, that this young Prince would reign but three Months at most; *Let him reign as long as he can*, says he, *though it be but three Days; I shall be glad of the Assurance, that one Day, at least, he will have that Crown upon his Head which was due to the Prince his Father.*

With this Grief for the Death of his Son, he expir'd about the Close of the Year 1629. with the Reputation of one of the greatest Princes that ever reign'd in *Persia*, and leaving to his Successors such Examples and Lessons as most of them have made a very ill Use of.

He

He died at *Ferabad* in the Province of *Mazanderan*, to the South of the *Caſpian Sea*, a Town which he had built on the Sea-Side, and the Place which he delighted in moſt throughout his whole Kingdom. He was ſixty three Years of Age, and had reign'd forty five. But it may be obſerv'd in the Conduct of the *Aghvans*, who are now Maſters of the Kingdom, that by deſtroying the Nobility of *Perſia* and the antient Militia of that Nation, they have only follow'd the Maxims and Example of *Schah-Abas*, and that they have treated the *Modern* Nobility juſt as *Schah-Abas*, and *Schah-Sefi* his Succeſſor, did the antient Nobility and the *Courtches*.

SEFI,

Son to the Prince SEFI-MURZA, *and Grandſon to* Abas the Great, *the Eighth King of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1629.

BEFORE the Reign of *Schah-Abas*, the Children of the Kings of *Perſia* appear'd at Court with Freedom. They were alſo employ'd, and had Governments given them when they came of Age. But after the Death of *Mirza-Sefi*, who was a Sacrifice to the Jealouſy of the King his Father, this Prince alter'd that Method, and caus'd his

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Grandſon to be educated in a Manner which was afterwards a Rule for the Education of all the King's Sons, that is to ſay, he kept him ſhut up in the *Haram*, where he had no Converſation but with the Eunuchs. He was only taught to read and write; and all his Diverſions were ſhooting with the Bow, and riding upon an Aſs in the Gardens. *Schah-Abas* was ſo much on his Guard againſt this young Prince, though he was of too tender Years to undertake any Thing againſt him, that 'tis ſaid, that for fear he had more Wit than he wiſh'd him to have, he made him take Opium every Day to ſtupify him.

WHETHER *Schah-Sefi* had Memorials and Inſtructions from the King his Grandfather and Predeceſſor, to cut off the chief Men of the Kingdom, or whether he followed the Cruelty of his natural Temper, 'tis certain, that there has not been in *Perſia* a more cruel and bloody Reign than his. 'Tis ſaid that he came into the World with two Hands full of Blood, and that *Schah-Abas* prognoſticated from thence, that he would live to bathe his Hands in Blood; which was but too much verified in the Sequel.

HE began his Cruelties with an only Brother, whoſe Eyes he caus'd to be bored out. He caſt headlong from a Rock, his two Uncles, the younger Brothers of his Father *Mirza-Sefi*, the ſame whoſe Eyes *Schah-Abas* had bored out, and kept Priſoner in a Caſtle.

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The Reaſon he alledged was, that thoſe Princes being blind, were therefore good for nothing in the World. He likewiſe put to Death not only ſuch of the great Lords, as he in any Manner ſuſpected, but alſo many of thoſe that were the moſt attached to his Family, and who having been the chief Miniſters of the late King his Grandfather, had the greateſt Share of his Eſteem and Confidence.

I SHALL not enter into a longer Detail of the Cruelties, of which his Reign was one continued Series. They had rendered him ſo odious even to thoſe who had moſt Acceſs to him, that they conſpired againſt him in his very Haram; and in the Midſt of his Wives and Concubines, it was reſolved to poiſon him: And the Thing was executed; but the Quality or Doſe of the Poiſon not being ſtrong enough to do his Buſineſs, he was no ſooner cured of his Illneſs at two Months End, but after great Enquiry he found that the Poiſon had been prepared in the Haram, and that his Aunt, the Widow of one of the chief Officers of the Court, whom he had put to Death, had formed the Conſpiracy, and conducted it through. The Night after he was informed of all theſe Particulars, terrible Shrieks were heard in the Haram, and next Day it was known, that, after he had ordered a great Ditch to be made in the Garden, he had buried there all alive forty Women that had a Hand in the Con-

ſpiracy; of which Number, 'tis ſaid, his own Mother was one; and that it was only to cover the Horror of this Fact that a Report was ſpread at the ſame Time, that ſhe was dead of the Plague.

Besides, this Prince had no conſiderable Virtue that would counterbalance his Vices; for, though he pretended to Courage, there was more of Raſhneſs than true Valour in his Military Conduct; and though in the firſt Years of his Reign, he cauſed the *Turks* to raiſe the Siege at *Bagdat*, and took *Erivan* by Storm, he was more obliged for thoſe Exploits to the Capacity and good Conduct of his Generals, than to his own Skill and Prudence. He loſt two of the moſt important Places of his Frontiers, *Candahar* and *Bagdat*, the one on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt, merely by his own Folly. The Reader will find in the firſt Part of this Work how he loſt the former; and I ſhall here acquaint him how he came to loſe the other.

There was at *Bagdat* a very worthy Governor named *Sefi-Kuli-Kan*, originally of *Armenia*. This brave Commander had before held out two Sieges againſt the *Turks* with Succeſs, and ſtill commanded in the Place, when *Amurath*, the Grand Seignior, came to beſiege it in 1638. *Schah-Sefi*, inſtead of truſting to a Man of his Experience for the Defence of this important Place, thought fit to ſend one of his Favourites thither, to whom

whom he gave the Government of it. The old Governor finding himſelf turned out, to make Room for a worthleſs young Fellow, was ſo ſenſible of the Affront, that he choſe to take Poiſon rather than ſurvive it, and made his Wife and his Son do the ſame. The Garriſon, to whom their old Commander was dear, had no Courage to fight under the Command of a new one; but, rebelling againſt him, capitulated with *Amurath* for the Surrender of the Place; which he had no ſooner entered, but he put all the *Perſians* to the Sword. Thus did *Bagdat*, which was taken by *Schah-Abas* from the *Turks* twenty Years before, relapſe into their Hands, where it has remain'd ever ſince.

When *Schah-Sefi* ſucceeded to the Throne, he was ſo chilled by the Opium which his Grandfather made him to mix with his Food, that the Phyſicians preſcribed the Uſe of Wine to give him Warmth. He took ſuch a Fancy to it, that 'twas one of his greateſt Pleaſures to drink to Exceſs; and his Cruelty was never more to be dreaded than when he was in that Condition. He meddled very little with Affairs of the Goverment, paſſing his whole Life with his Bottle, his Wives, or in Hunting, ſo that had it not been for the numerous Cruelties, which ſtained his Reign with Blood, it would have been ſcarce perceivable that he ever was King. He died 1642. after a Reign of twelve Years. His Death is aſcri-

bed to a Debauch of Wine ; but he had rendered himſelf ſo hateful to the Court by his Cruelties, that it was always believed the Poiſon had help'd to carry him off. He was of a middling Stature, very well made in his Perſon, and had an Air of Good Humour and Humanity in his Phyſiognomy, to which all his Actions gave the Lye.

ABAS II.

Son of SEFI, *the Ninth King of the Race of the* Sophies, *in* 1642.

THIS Prince was but thirteen Years of Age when he came to the Throne, after having ran a great Hazard of being for ever incapacitated to ſucceed his Father. *Schah-Sefi*, whoſe Cruelty was ſuch that it did not ſpare even his only Son, ordered one of his chief Eunuchs, upon a certain Day, without telling him the Reaſon, to run the Iron over *Abas*'s Eyes : His Intention to be ſure was that the Iron ſhould be red-hot ; but as he did not expreſs it ſo, the Eunuch, who had Compaſſion of the Prince, and imagined that the King having no other Heir, would one Day be ſorry for the Order he had given, only run the cold Iron over the Princes Eyes,

Eyes, and told the King that his Order was obey'd. Mean Time the Prince, being inſtructed by the Eunuch, acted the blind Man ſo much to Perfection, that it was really believed he had loſt his Sight. When *Schah-Seſi* found himſelf on his Death-Bed, and that he was actually dying, he was ſorry that by depriving his Son of Sight, he had depriv'd himſelf of the only Heir to whom he could leave the Crown. As he was extreamly afflicted for it, and ſaid with what Satisfaction he ſhould have died, if he had but a Son to ſucceed him, the Eunuch ſeeing him almoſt ready to expire, aſſured him that he had a Secret to reſtore the Prince to his Sight, and that he would prove it to him by bringing him inſtantly before him. The King, tranſported at this News, ſent immediately one of the chief Lords of his Court, named *Ali-Kuli-Kan*, along with the Eunuch to bring the Prince to him, whoſe Sight gave him ſo much Joy that it prolonged his Life till next Day.

The Reign of *Abas* II. was very different from that of his Father; and it may be ſaid, that next to *Iſmael* I. and *Schah-Abas* the Great, *Perſia* never had a better King of the Family of the *Sophies*. Not but that, like him, he was too much ſubject to Wine, and committed ſome Acts of Cruelty, but abateing a few Excurſions, of which he might juſtly be reproached, he ſhew'd himſelf, during the

the whole Courſe of his Reign, truly worthy of the Crown he wore.

As he was but thirteen Years of Age when he took the Scepter into his Hands, he left the Goverment of the Kingdom to his Mother and to *Athemat-Doulet*, an old Man of near fourſcore Years of Age, in whom that Princeſs repoſed all the Confidence that could be. Things went on very quietly for the three firſt Years, till *Jani-Kan*, the moſt powerful Lord at Court, who was a declared Enemy to the Prime Miniſter, putting a wrong Conſtruction upon a Word that the King had ſaid, went to the Miniſter's Houſe, and killed him as by Order from the King. His Mother, who was incenſed to the laſt Degree, and thought herſelf inſulted by ſo daring a Stroke, preſſed the King to revenge it. This Prince, who was then but ſixteen Years of Age, was fain to diſſemble; and inſtead of puniſhing *Jani-Kan*, he gave him the Office of the Deceaſed, with the Forfeiture of his Eſtate; and two Days after he made him Generaliſſimo of *Perſia*, which put 30000 Men under his Command. Perhaps this new Miniſter might have ſupported himſelf longer, notwithſtanding the Hatred which the King's Mother bore him, and notwithſtanding all the Influence ſhe had over the King her Son; but having formed a Conſpiracy to force the Haram, and to kill that Princeſs in it, the King being informed of it, cauſed

cauſed him and his Accomplices to be maſſacred next Day in the Council-Hall, when they expected nothing like it. *Tavernier* aſcribes this Fact to *Schah-Sefi*: But Sir *John Chardin*, who was much better informed, and more exact in all Reſpects than he was, puts it to the Account of *Schah-Abas*.

This young Prince having eſtabliſhed his Authority by this vigorous Stroke, took the Reins of Government into his own Hands. He was but eighteen or nineteen Years of Age, when he went to beſiege *Candahar*, which in his Father's Reign had been ſurrendered to the Great-Mogul. He retook it with the whole Province, which ſurrounds it, and kept it ever afterwards, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of that ſame *Indian* Emperor, who cauſed it to be beſieged ſeveral Times, but always in vain, by Armies of 300000 Men. He was ſo much confounded at it himſelf, that neither he nor his Succeſſors dared afterwards to attack it. Which in theſe latter Times has proved the Misfortune of *Perſia*; becauſe, if *Candahar* had been in the Hands of the Great-Mogul, the *Aghvans* would never have attempted to conquer the Kingdom as they have done.

The farther *Schah-Abas* advanced into his Reign, the more was he beloved by his Subjects, and the more feared by his Neighbours. He loved Juſtice, and had no Mercy for the Governors, and other publick Officers,

ficers, who abuſing their Authority, oppreſſed the People; of which ſeveral Inſtances may be ſeen in *Tavernier*. He had a great and noble Soul, was very kind to Strangers, and openly protected the Chriſtians, whom he would not have in the leaſt moleſted for their Religion, ſaying, *That none but God was Maſter of their Conſciences; that, for his own Part, he was only Governor of Externals; and that all his Subjects being equally Members of the State, of what Religion ſoever they were, he owed Juſtice to them all alike.*

He gave a full Proof of theſe Sentiments upon this Occaſion: A *Perſian* having ſtabbed an *Armenian*, for having ſeen him take out of the Baſin of a *Moſque* one of thoſe Fiſhes which they look upon as ſacred, becauſe they belong to the Moſque, was abſolved for a ſmall Matter by the Sedre, or High-Prieſt of the Kingdom, who judged that the *Armenian* was killed juſtly. But *Schah-Abas* was of another Opinion; and, in Contempt of the ridiculous Argument of the High-Prieſt, who pretended that to take a conſecrated Fiſh was a Crime which the firſt Comer had a right to puniſh with Death, he ſeverely reprimanded him, condemned him to pay a Fine to the *Armenian*'s Family, and cauſed the Murderer to be puniſhed.

He was but thirty-ſeven or thirty-eight Years old when he died. He was then in the

the Vigour of his Age, and had formed a Design to extend the Frontiers of his Kingdom on the North Side, and had actually made such Preparations for the Execution of it, that his Success was not doubted. His Troops were numerous, and in good Condition; and had found Ways and Means to heap up Wealth, without putting his People to the Expence. The Secret he had made use of for this Purpose was, not to fill up certain great Posts when they became vacant, but to put the great Sallaries thereto annex'd in his Exchequer, a Piece of Oeconomy which was worth above twelve Millions a Year to him. But Death overtook him in the Midst of his great Projects; for he fell sick at one of his Pleasure-Houses, about two Leagues from *Damagan*, a City of the Province of *Teber-Estoon*, or *Tabariston*, as 'tis called in the Maps, and after four Months languishing under the Venereal Disease, he died the 25th of *September* 1666. leaving two Sons, the Eldest about twenty Years of Age, named *Sefi-Mirza*, and the youngest, who was Eight, named *Hamzech-Mirza;* but he appointed neither of them for his Successor.

SOLY-

SOLYMAN,

Son of ABAS II. *the Tenth King of the Race of the* Sophies, *in* 1666.

ABAS II. having not fixed his Succeſſion upon either of his Sons, there was a Conſultation which of the two to chooſe for his Succeſſor. A great Council was held upon it in the very Camp, which was pitched round the Caſtle where the King died; and this before his Death was known to any but about eleven Miniſters and principal Officers of the Army that compoſed the Council, and two Eunuchs of the firſt Rank, that were preſent at his Departure out of the World.

As 'tis always more advantageous to thoſe who are in Place to have a Minor King for their Sovereign, than one that is of Age to govern, all the Suffrages were unanimous for giving the Crown to the younger Son, whom the King had brought along with him, and who was then upon the Spot. And in order to colour over the Injuſtice done to the Eldeſt, it was pretended with a ſeeming Probability that *Schah-Abas* had deprived him of his Sight. The Foundation for it was, that when the late King ſet out upon his laſt Journey, in which he died, he turned back again to *Iſpahan*, when he was but eight Leagues from

from it, with a very few Attendants, and enter'd the *Haram* privately, without being ſeen. He was there but two Hours, and it was remark'd, that he came out very penſive. This had given Cauſe to ſuppoſe, that he only went thither to deprive *Mirza-Sefi* of his Sight. The Conjecture, though well founded, prov'd falſe. However thoſe who aſſiſted in the Council made a Handle of it to exclude the Eldeſt, and to proclaim the Youngeſt, who had the Generality of the Suffrages, when *Mubateck-Aga* one of the two Eunuchs who were preſent at the Conſultation, and from whom it was leaſt expected, in that he was the Governor of the Prince whom they made Choice of, caus'd the Election to miſcarry. Though he had no deliberative Vote in the Aſſembly, yet he ſpoke with Courage, and ſtaking his Life upon it, that *Sefi-Mirza* had not loſt his Sight, he ſo vigorouſly repreſented to them the Injuſtice done to a Prince of his Age, to prefer his younger Brother, who was but a Child, before him, that he turn'd the Reſolution that was enter'd into in Favour of *Hamez-Mirza*, and in a Manner forc'd the whole Aſſembly to chooſe the eldeſt.

The Thing being thus reſolv'd on, the Council appointed Deputies to carry the News to the Prince *Sefi-Mirza* at *Iſpahan*, which was one hundred and forty *French* Leagues from the Place where the King died. The Deputies made this Journey with ſuch a Diſpatch,

patch, that they arriv'd at *Ispahan* in seven Days, *viz.* the second of *October*. The Chief of the Deputation having desired to speak with the Prince from the King his Father, whose Death was not known, there was a great Alarm at the *Haram*, where it was suspected that the King sent an Officer of the first Rank from a Place so far distant, only to take away the Prince's Life, and it was near an Hour before they could pluck the Child from the Arms of his Mother, who thought they were going to put him to Death. At last the Prince coming out of the *Haram*, the Chief of the Deputies fell on his Knees before him, and paid due Homage to him as his King. He was install'd and crown'd, and was resolv'd to keep his old Name of *Sefi*. The Death of the old King, and the Coronation of his Successor, was not known in *Ispahan* till the next Day, and the Army decamp'd, in order to return to the Capital, without having heard a Word of the Death of *Schach-Abas*, or of the Election of *Schah-Sefi*, till they were far advanc'd upon the Road.

Though at first he retain'd his old Name, he chang'd it two Years after, upon an Occasion that I am now going to mention. The Debaucheries of Wine and Women having very much impair'd his Health at the End of two Years, the Physicians not being able to restore it, laid the Blame upon the Stars, accusing the Astrologers of having not chose

a happy Date for his Coronation. This Opinion, ridiculous as it was, prevail'd in a Country where they have mighty Faith in Aſtrology. The King was crown'd again; and abandoning his old Name, he took that of *Solyman*, which he went by to his Death. He was ſo ſtrong and robuſt, that with the Gripe of his Hand he bent Gold Cups of the Thickneſs of a Crown Piece, till both Sides met. Sir *John Chardin* ſays, he had ſeen and handled ſeveral of the Cups which this Prince had ſo bent. But this Prince degenerated very much from the Virtues of his Father *Schah-Abas* II. and made his Reign remarkable only by a thouſand Inſtances of Cruelty, the bare Mention of which is ſhocking. When he was in Wine, or in Wrath, no Body about him was ſure of Life or Eſtate. He caus'd Hands, Feet, Noſe, and Ears, to be cut off, Eyes to be pluck'd out, and Lives to be ſacrificed, upon the leaſt Whim that took him; and the Man that was the moſt in his Favour at the Beginning of a Debauch, was generally made a Sacrifice at the End of it. This is the Character given us of him by Sir *John Chardin*, who was in Part a Witneſs of what he relates as to this Matter. Perſons thought their Lives in ſuch Danger whenever they approach'd him, that a great Lord of his Court ſaid, When he came from his Preſence, *That he always felt if his Head was left ſtanding upon his Shoulders.* It was under this Prince, that *Perſia* began to decay.

He thought so little like a King, that when it was represented to him what Danger he was in from the *Turks*, who when they had made Peace with the Christians, would come and attack his finest Provinces, if he did not put himself in a Condition to repel them, he answer'd very indifferently, that he did not care, provided they left him *Ispahan*. He died about the End of *July* 1694. leaving two Sons, the one *Hussein*, the other *Abas*. He was forty eight Years of Age, and had reign'd twenty eight. *Gemelli* says he was fifty three, and had reign'd thirty; but he is mistaken in both. *Solyman* was born in 1646. according to *Chardin*, who was at *Ispahan* at the Time of his Government. He came to the Crown in 1666. and not in 1664. as *Gemelli* says, who does not seem to be sure of what he advances, and who, though he pretends he was at *Schah-Hussein*'s Coronation, did not so much as know the Name of this Prince, whom he always calls *Schah-Offen*.

HUSSEIN,

Son to Solyman, *the Eleventh and Last King of the Family of the* Sophies, *in* 1694.

As this Prince's Reign is the chief Subject of the History of the late Revolution, 'tis sufficient here only to name him in the Succession to the other Kings of his Family.

HIS-

HISTORY

Of the Late

Revolution in PERSIA.

IF the Revolution of *Perſia* has been ſo aſtoniſhing, when taken only in a general View, and according to the very imperfect Ideas we can form of it from the *Gazettes* and other publick News Papers, we may affirm, it will appear ſtill more amazing, when we come to give a particular Account of the remote Cauſes and Events that prepar'd the Way to it for above twenty Years, and which at laſt brought it to a final Iſſue, to the Advantage of a Handful, as we may call it, of *Barbarians*, who expected nothing like it, and always thought it a chimerical Project to attempt to dethrone this ſame King of *Perſia*, whom they have depos'd, as it were, without deſigning it.

This is a Myſtery that cannot well be explain'd without going back to the Beginning of his Reign. As to his Character, he was the moſt human, and the beſt temper'd Prince, but the weakeſt that ever govern'd *Perſia:* And his Misfortunes are a Leſſon that good Nature and Humanity, when carried too far, and unattended with the Knowledge and Virtue neceſſary for a King, degenerates into Daſtardy, which is much more likely to make a Prince deſpis'd than belov'd; and that if Revolutions ſo extraordinary and flagrant as this of *Perſia*, are not always the Conſequences of ſuch Contempt, 'tis only becauſe there are not Perſons of ſufficient Abilities at all Times, and in all Countries, to lay hold of the Opportunities, and at the ſame Time, ambitious and reſolute enough to run all the Hazards of it.

Schah-Solyman, the Predeceſſor of *Huſſein*, left but two Sons that were in a Capacity to ſucceed him, and both by different Mothers. The eldeſt was called *Mirza-Abas*, and the youngeſt *Huſſein*, who ſucceeded in the Manner we are now going to relate.

Huſſein's Mother had two other Sons, one that was older than him, and the other younger. *Solyman* having put the eldeſt of them to Death, the Mother was afraid the youngeſt would have the ſame Fate, the rather, becauſe when he came to have a Notion of Things, he abandon'd himſelf ſometimes ſo far to a

Re-

Reſentment for his Brother's Death, as to tax his Father with Cruelty. She imagined too, that Arts were uſed to provoke him, to make him talk more than was proper; and in order to ſnatch him from the Misfortune that had bereav'd her of her eldeſt, ſhe ſent him away ſo privately from the *Haram*, (or *Seraglio*,) that no Body knew afterwards what became of him. Thus ſhe ſav'd her Son, but was made a Sacrifice to her Tenderneſs: Whether it was that *Solyman*, as is generally believ'd, put her to Death, from a Suſpicion that ſhe, and none but ſhe, had promoted the Eſcape of this young Prince, and from an Apprehenſion that it might occaſion a Civil War, or whether, as ſome have pretended, ſhe threw herſelf headlong in a Fit of Madneſs from the Top of the Palace.

By this Means none but *Mirza-Abas* and *Huſſein* were left in a Capacity of ſucceeding *Solyman*, who after his Paſſion was over for the Eſcape of *Huſſein*'s younger Brother, which had occaſion'd the Death of the Mother, chang'd his Rage into a Compaſſion and Love for *Huſſein*, and entertaining a more favourable Opinion of him than he had before, he ordered that great Care ſhould be taken of his Education, which he had very much neglected hitherto, and that no Coſt ſhould be ſpared to educate him in a Manner worthy of a Prince.

When *Solyman* died, he was ſo well diſpos'd to *Huſſein*, that his not appointing a Succeſſor at his Death, can be aſcrib'd to no other Cauſe, but his exceſſive Tenderneſs for him; for in ſhort, nothing but his ſtrong Byaſs to *Huſſein* could weigh with him againſt the Merit of *Mirza-Abas*, who by the Confeſſion of all Mankind, was much fitter to ſucceed him in the Throne than *Huſſein* was, who by Reaſon of the Deformity of his Body, was always looked upon as tacitly excluded from all Hopes of the Crown. This young Prince, though handſome enough in other Reſpects, had Legs that were monſtrouſly crooked, and withal was ſplay-footed. He was born, moreover, without any Ambition or Paſſion, and lov'd Retirement and Solitude to ſuch a Degree, that they commonly gave him the Name of *Derviſh*. And indeed he abounded with Zeal and Piety in the Exerciſes of his Religion, being wholly intent upon the Reading of the Alcoran, and diſcovering as much Modeſty in his Behaviour, as Probity in his Sentiments; all Virtues of intrinſick Value, and ſufficient for a private Man, but which alone cannot make a Prince a good Prince, much leſs a great One.

On the contrary, *Mirza-Abas* had all the neceſſary Qualities for a great King, He was well ſhap'd, robuſt, had a noble Air and Inclinations, delighting only in bodily Exerciſes, eſpecially of the military Kind; which might

might be uſed in the *Haram*, wherein the Sons of the Kings of *Perſia* were train'd up.

THOUGH every Thing ſeem'd to plead for the Choice of this Prince to be his Succeſſor, yet *Solyman* would not determine himſelf in this Reſpect, and only ſaid to the principal Eunuchs that ſurrounded him, and who towards the Cloſe of his Reign, had got great Footing in his Government, and had render'd themſelves very powerful, that he left it to them, and the other Grandees of the Kingdom, to conſider which of his two Sons, for whom he had an equal Affection, was beſt for their Purpoſe; that if they were for a Martial King, that would always keep his Foot in the Stirrups, they ought to chuſe *Mirza-Abas*; but that if they wiſh'd for a peaceable Reign, and a pacifick King, they ought to fix their Eyes upon *Huſſein*.

THUS did *Schah-Solyman*, through a Folly and Imprudence, of which he did not foreſee the Conſequences, but which coſt his Poſterity the Loſs of a Kingdom, abandon the Choice of his Succeſſor to Perſons who were intereſted to chooſe out of the two Princes, not him that was moſt capable of governing the State, but him that was the fitteſt and moſt diſpos'd to let them govern him.

BEING abſolute Maſters of the Fate of the Kingdom, and of the Fortune of the two Princes, they did not heſitate long about the

Choice. *Mirza-Abas* had Inclinations too ſublime, and a Soul too great for them to expect much Complaiſance from him. They were even afraid of him already; and by ſome Sarcaſms which indiſcreetly dropp'd from that young Prince, againſt the exorbitant Power of the Eunuchs, they had Reaſon to judge, that he would be for clipping their Wings. On the other Hand, *Huſſein*'s Grandmother, by the Mother's Side, who had a great Party in the *Haram*, and who acted vigorouſly for her Grandſon, found no Difficulty to gain the Eunuchs, by the Aſſurances ſhe gave them, even upon Oath, to make him their Friend.

At the ſame Time an Intereſt was ſecur'd with the Miniſters and principal Officers, who had not only been accuſtomed for moſt Part, at leaſt during the latter Years of *Solyman*'s Reign, to follow the Impreſſions of the *Haram*, and to buckle to the Eunuchs, who were Lords Paramount, but had more Inclination for a quiet peaceable Government, than for a tumultuous warlike Reign, ſuch as that of *Mirza-Abas* could not fail to be.

This Prince, though the moſt deſerving of the Crown, was therefore excluded from it; and while they were proclaiming and inſtalling his Brother, they ſecur'd him, by putting him under ſtricter Confinement than he was ſubject to before in the *Haram*. But for all the Inſtances that the Eunuchs could

make

make to oblige the new King to bore out his Eyes, as his Predeceſſors uſed to ſerve their Brothers, he would never permit it, but always oppoſed it, not only from a Sentiment of Humanity, but in Purſuance of an Engagement which the two Brothers had made with one another. For when they were firſt put to reading in the Alcoran, they both ſwore upon that Book, which is their Goſpel, that which ſoever of them ſhould be King, ſhould not ſuffer the Eyes of the other to be put out; but that, on the contrary, he ſhould content himſelf with keeping him under a ſtrong Guard, and procure him the moſt agreeable and comfortable Accommodation conſiſtent with Impriſonment. But what proves that a Sentiment of Humanity had as great a Share in this Moderation of *Schah-Huſſein* as the Tie of an Oath, is, that he behaved with the ſame Kindneſs to his other younger Brothers, though he had made no Engagment with them.

I MUST obſerve here, as to thoſe Princes of the Blood-Royal that are kept in the Haram, that it muſt not therefore be imagined that they are educated amongſt Women, or in Voluptuouſneſs. When they are come to ſeven Years of Age they are taken from the Care of Women, and lodged in ſeparate Quarters, where even their own Mothers are not ſo much as permitted to come to ſee them without expreſs Leave from the King. Every

ry one of thoſe young Princes has two Maſters, one to give them Learning, and the other to form their Manners. Theſe two Maſters are always Eunuchs, for no other Man comes near them. They are ſhut up in Gardens, the Walls of which are ſo high that they never can ſee the Sun at its Riſing or Setting. Inſtead of being brought up in Delicacy and Idleneſs, they are kept to hard Meat, and ſtinted to bare Neceſſaries, without knowing any Pleaſure, unleſs the King in his ſpecial Grace is pleaſed to indulge them. However, they are permitted under the Colour of Diverſion, and for Bodily Exerciſe, at certain Hours, to throw a ſort of Javelin, which they call *Girid*, and which they direct againſt a Butt, or to ſhoot in the ſame Manner from the Bow; but they are never allowed to mount a Horſe.

Besides the two Tutors juſt now mentioned, they are allowed a third, when they come to the Age of about Fourteen, whoſe Care is to form them to Piety, according to the Diſcipline of the Alcoran; for till they have attain'd that Age they are deemed unclean, and, as ſuch, though they are beſides taught to read, they are debarred from reading the Alcoran, as well as from uſing the Prayers ordered by the Law; becauſe, 'tis not preſumed, that till they come to thoſe Years, they are capable of giving all the neceſſary Attention, nor of preſerving all the Purity which is proper for

for ſo holy an Exerciſe; and becauſe the leaſt wandering of the Thought, or Indecency, though it be involuntary, is, according to them, a ſufficient Profanation. Nor do they uſe, during their Childhood, thoſe legal Ablutions which the Mahometans are obliged to before their Prayers, and which are always the neceſſary and indiſpenſible Preludes of all their Religious Exerciſes; nor do they begin to practiſe the Ablutions enjoined by the Law till after their Circumciſion, which is as the Seal of the Mahometan Religion, and which is not uſed in *Perſia* before the Age of Fourteen. At that Time the Eunuch, who ſerves as their Moulah, that is to ſay, Doctor or Chaplain, makes them read the Prayers five Times a-Day, according to the Law of Mahomet, each of which Prayers is preceded by the Ablutions that are required, by Means of which they reckon themſelves purified from all Sin and Filth. The Moulah, who inſtructs them, audibly and diſtinctly pronounces the Words of the Prayer, which they are bound to repeat after him; but after he has done, they are allowed to lengthen their Prayers, if they have ſo much Devotion. Many of theſe recluſe Princes do it, who renouncing all Manner of Senſuality and Pleaſure, ſtick cloſe to the Reading of the Alcoran, and to Prayer; and in their Retirement lead the Lives of Friars and Derviſhes. As to their Nouriſhment, it is very frugal: Of three Meals

Meals which they make in a Day, the moſt conſiderable, which is their Supper, is only Rice, and their Drink is *Sherbet*, which ſerves the better to digeſt it. At the two other Meals, in which they have only Bread, Fruit, Cheeſe, ſome Sweet-Meats, and Coffee, they drink nothing but Water. Their Habits are as plain as their Food: They put on but two Suits in a Year, the one at the Vernal Solſtice, the other at the Autumnal; and they are only made of a Woollen Stuff, from whence ſome derive *Sophy*, the Name of the Royal Family, which in the *Perſian* Language ſignifies Wool. They are allow'd, indeed, a ſort of Fur-Lining to the Suit, which is given them for the Autumnal Solſtice; but 'tis no more than Lamb's Wool. They paſs the Night in ſeparate Chambers, about which there are Eunuchs that always walk the Rounds, and which relieve one another in Turns to watch while they ſleep.

When they are come to eighteen Years of Age, they are each allow'd a Woman, who is choſe without regard to her Birth or Condition; I ſay allow'd, becauſe they cannot diſpoſe of her as they pleaſe; for thoſe Women are ſhut up in a little Haram by themſelves, where they are guarded by black Eunuchs, that don't allow the Princes the Liberty of going to them as often as they have a Mind to it. But for fear leſt the Princes of the Blood ſhould multiply too faſt, by Means of the Women

Women that are allow'd to thoſe Princes, the Eunuchs who had Charge of the Women, made it their whole Care to chooſe none but barren ones, or thoſe whom they had the Secret to render ſo, unleſs upon Failure of the Branches of the Royal Family, the Neceſſity of providing Succeſſors obliged them to do otherwiſe. *Schah-Abas* I. ſirnamed *the Great*, who died in 1629. after a Reign of forty-four Years, and who was not only the greateſt King of the Sophy Race, but one of the moſt able and wiſeſt Monarchs that ever reigned, was the firſt that eſtabliſhed the Cuſtom of keeping the Children of the Kings ſhut up, ſo as to have no Communication with thoſe without Doors, during the Reign of their Father. He ſaid that it was not proper to expoſe them too much to the View of the People, who generally worſhip the riſing Sun; and that beſides, as Kings ought to be more jealous of their Crown than their Wives; they ought to take no leſs Precaution to preſerve the one than the other. He added, that as a Thing not known gives no Temptation, the Children of Kings, bred up in this retired Way, lived content in it, and without Ambition, and were ſo thoroughly inured to it, that ſometimes they preferred it to all the Splendor of Regal Grandure. This was the very Caſe of Prince *Mirza-Seſi*, one of the Sons of the dethroned King, who being taken out of the Haram before the Troubles

Troubles, to be put at the Head of Affairs with the Title of Lieutenant-General of the King his Father, over all the Kingdom, had not enjoy'd that Place above three Weeks or a Month, but being ſurfeited with a Grandure, and a Way of Living to which he had not been uſed, he deſired Leave to retire on Pretence of Pains in his Head, and ſhut himſelf up again in the Haram, to betake to his former Courſe of Life.

As the Daughters of the Kings of *Perſia* are totally excluded from all Right to the Crown, as well as their Children; and as in this Reſpect, they are not capable of giving Umbrage, their Fortune is much happier than that of the Princes their Brothers. For, though they are confined under the Guard of the black Eunuchs, that narrowly watch their Conduct, yet they are brought up in other Reſpects with much leſs Severity, and far more Liberty, with Regard to the Pleaſures and Amuſements conſiſtent with the Delicacy of the Sex, which are not denied them. When they are marriageable they are matched to ſome of the Grandees of the Kingdom, to the great Mortification of the latter, who, in Conſequence of ſuch Marriage, and out of Reſpect to an Alliance of ſo high a Rank, are obliged to content themſelves with their Wives, and to abſtain from the Uſe of Concubines in their Harams. This were tolerable, however, if the Children born of ſuch Marriages, could

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from thence acquire any Lawful Pretenſion to the Crown, at leaſt on Failure of Heirs Male; but, even in this Caſe, they would have no more Claim to it than the laſt Man in the Kingdom. I thought this Digreſſion on a Point not much known, would not be diſobliging to the Reader; and now I return to my Subject.

Schah-Hussein, was no ſooner ſeated on the Throne, but the Eunuchs, not ſatisfied with having choſe a Prince of his ſoft Temper, narrow Spirit, and almoſt natural Incapacity of feeling the Yoke under which they intended to keep him, were for making ſurer of him, by inſpiring him with ſuch a Guſt for Debauchery, as ſhould give him an Averſion to Buſineſs. But they found the more Difficulty in it, becauſe the very firſt Action with which this Prince began his Reign, ſeemed to lay an invincible Obſtacle againſt the Deſign they had formed.

His Head being full of thoſe Notions of Regularity, and ſevere Diſcipline, which he had imbibed from the Alcoran, during his Retirement, and in which he confirmed himſelf yet more after he came to the Throne; and this by ſuch an Attachment to the Reading of the ſaid Book, as ſeemed a little ſtrange in a King, and got him the Nick-Name of *Moulah*, or *Parſon-Huſſein*, he thought himunder an indiſpenſable Obligation to prohibit the Uſe of a Liquor which was forbid in the Alcoran

Alcoran with the Utmoſt Severity. Therefore he iſſued out an Edict abſolutely prohibiting the Uſe of Wine; and not content with having made the Law, he was the firſt Man to ſhew an Example of putting it in Execution; for he cauſed all the Wine-Veſſels to be brought out of the Cellars of his Palace into a publick Square, and there to be ſtav'd in Pieces. His Precaution extended ſtill farther, and to take away all Poſſibility of tranſgreſſing, he forbad the *Armenians* of the Suburb *Zulfa*, who uſed to furniſh the Wine, to bring any more in for the future, though in never ſo ſmall a Quantity, on the Penalty of the entire Forfeiture of the Delinquent's Eſtate.

As the Grandees of the Kingdom, and the Court Lords, who had been accuſtomed to drink Wine, which was tolerated in *Perſia* ever ſince the Reign of *Schah-Abas* the Great, *i. e.* for above two hundred Years, were frighten'd at the Severity of this Edict, the Eunuchs were more terrified from another Motive. They knew that a temperate King would not be always led by the Noſe; that he would not fail to apply himſelf to Buſineſs if he had nothing to divert him from it; and that after forming himſelf to it by Degrees, it is impoſſible but he would open his Eyes at length, and ſhake off the Yoke which they deſigned to keep him under. There was no other Method to ward off the Blow, but by reſtoring the Liquor which the King had pro-

hibited, than by putting him under a ſort of Neceſſity of taſting it himſelf. They imagined that he could not withſtand the Temptation; and that when he had once taſted of it, he could not do without it. The Eunuchs undertook it with the more Confidence, becauſe there was no Body at Court but what wiſhed well to their Deſign, the King being the only Perſon concerned to oppoſe it. The Difficulty was to find out ſome Byaſs in order to make the Attempt without any Riſque, and without the King's taking Umbrage at it. The Eunuchs applied for this Purpoſe to the King's Grandmother, by the Mother's Side, to whom he partly owed his Crown, and for whom he always had a very great Value and Tenderneſs. They brought her into their Views, without much Difficulty. Having accuſtomed herſelf all her Life long to the Uſe of Wine, ſhe was mortified at the new Edict; and very glad, on the other hand, of an Opportunity to do a Pleaſure to thoſe whom ſhe had been obliged to for having placed her Grandſon upon the Throne. It was therefore concerted between them, that ſhe ſhould feign herſelf ſick; and that when the King came to ſee her, as he would not fail to do when he was informed of her Illneſs, ſhe ſhould give him to underſtand, that if he valued her Life, he muſt permit her to drink a little Wine, that being the only Remedy, in the Opinion of the Phyſicians, that could relieve her. The

Succeſs anſwered the Expectation. The King, alarmed at the pretended dangerous Condition of his Grandmother, was ſo ſway'd by Pity, that, though it was Midnight, he ſent an Expreſs immediately to the *Armenians* of *Zulfa* for ſome Wine. Theſe Wine Merchants thinking it was a Bait laid for them, declared, that as they had not dared to keep any ſince the ſevere Prohibition laid upon them by the King, they had not a Drop left at his Service. As they knew not where to have any, and as the Perſons who had ſaved any, were far from owning it, for fear that ſuch a Piece of Complaiſance, how well taken ſoever it might be at that Juncture, might hurt them another Day, it was hinted to the King, that perhaps he might find ſome at the *Poliſh* Envoy's, who was then at Court, and whoſe Character exempted him from obſerving the Law. It happened accordingly, and the King pouring it out into a Cup, preſented it with his own Hands to his Grandmother. This Cunning Lady, who knew her Leſſon, refuſed at firſt to take the Cup, ſaying, that ſhe could not reſolve with herſelf to drink Wine if the King himſelf would not taſte it firſt; and when the Prince excuſed himſelf from the Precept of the Alcoran, ſhe very readily told him, that the Character with which he was veſted, put him above all Manner of Laws; for 'tis a Maxim among the *Perſians, That Kings are ſubject*

to

to no Law; and that whatever they do, they commit no Sin. She then put him in Mind that all his Anceſtors and Predeceſſors, ſince the Great *Schah-Abas* had not only drank Wine, but alſo permitted the Uſe of it to all their Courtiers; and really, continued ſhe, how could they poſſibly, without ſuch a Support, have born the whole Weight of the Affairs of ſo vaſt an Empire? And how could he himſelf bear up under the Fatigues and Diſquietudes of Government, if he did not dulcify the Bitterneſs of it by the Uſe of that dear generous Liquor? She added, that for her Part, ſhe was very ſenſible nothing but Wine could prolong her Days; but that, were it to ſave her Life, ſhe would never make Uſe of it, if he himſelf was not the firſt to ſet her an Example. The King could not ſtand againſt ſo preſſing a Solicitation, and drank a large Cup of it, which inſpired him with a certain Briskneſs that he had no Notion of before; and he took ſuch a Fancy to it afterwards, that he abandoned himſelf entirely to it, inſomuch that it was rare to find him ſober, and capable of attending to the minuteſt Affair of Government. 'Tis true, indeed, that, after his Pilgrimage to *Meſzat*, which we ſhall have Occaſion to mention hereafter, a Pilgrimage which he undertook by Way of Devotion, to viſit the Tombs of ſome famous Saints of his Sect, he did not drink Wine to that Exceſs as before: But this

Amendment came too late, and he was from that Time ſo beſotted by the Exceſſes he had been guilty of in that Way, and ſo buried in the Pleaſures of his Haram, that he would not by any Means hear the Mention of Buſineſs, but left it all to the Diſcretion of his Miniſters and Eunuchs, who governed the Kingdom juſt as they pleaſed, and took the greater Licence, becauſe they were very ſenſible they had nothing to fear from a Prince who was ſo weak as to refer the very Petitions he received, to them, without ſo much as reading them. Thus did the Eunuchs, after having diſpoſed of the Throne as they liked, put themſelves alſo in a Condition to diſpoſe likewiſe of all the Prerogatives of the Prince whom they had placed on it; and who conducting himſelf juſt according to their Impreſſions, not ſo much in Acknowledgment of the Obligation he had to them, as from an Averſion to Care and Buſineſs, became upon the Throne itſelf, no more than a Cypher, or the Freeman of his Slaves. Now becauſe this exorbitant Power of the Eunuchs has been one of the principal Cauſes of the Ruin of the Kingdom, 'tis proper to go back to the Origin of that Credit and Power, which being puſhed to the utmoſt Extremity in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, produced that amazing Revolution which is the Subject of this Hiſtory.

THE Eunuchs under the preceding Kings' and eſpecially ſince *Schah-Abas* the Great, were always ſhut up in the Haram without having any Thing to do with the Government, and only confined to the Occupations within their Sphere, as Perſons ſet apart to guard the Prince's Bed, and not his Throne. The only conſiderable Office to which they were admitted, was that of keeping the King's Treaſures, and the Management of the Finances; for which they ſeem'd more proper than others, becauſe, as they had no Kindred nor Heirs, to whom they could leave their Wealth, they were under the leſs Temptation of enriching themſelves at the Expence of the King and the Publick. For heretofore they were all Foreigners, and taken out of Countries the fartheſt diſtant from *Perſia*, as from the fartheſt *Arabia*, ſeveral Parts of the *Indies*, *Great Tartary*, *Abyſſinia*, and *China*; and it was an old State Maxim to admit no Eunuch that was a *Perſian*. The Reaſon of this Policy, was to the End that being ſequeſter'd from their Families, which the Generality of them knew nothing of, and depending upon no Body, they might be the more attach'd to the Perſon of the King, and have leſs Cauſe, and fewer Opportunities to divulge Abroad what was ſecretly tranſacted in the Haram. It appeared, however, that in the later Times, and in the Reign even of *Schah-Solyman*, Father and Predeceſſor to the

King lately dethroned, they began to make a Breach into that wise Custom of admitting no Eunuch that was a *Persian*: Of this we have a very evident Proof in the Voyages of *Tavernier*, *Lib.* v. *Cap.* 22. who tells us, that he who commanded in the Fortress of *Lar*, when he passed through that City in 1665. was a *Persian* that had obtained the Government by the Favour of his Brother, who was *Meter*,* that is to say, first Valet de Chambre to the King; a Post which, as he observes himself elsewhere, is always conferr'd upon a white Eunuch, and which is the prettier Employment, because he that has it is always near the King's Person, and follows him wherever he goes; so that the Meter, says, M. *Tavernier*, is looked upon as one of the first and most considerable Officers of the Court. He adds afterwards, that this Governor of the Fortress of *Lar*, seeing his Brother advanced in Years, and having four Sons, thought fit to have the youngest castrated, that he might have his Uncle's Post, but that the Operation being ill performed, the Child died at the End of three or four Days, to the great Sorrow of the Father, who was quite ashamed and confounded.

WHAT

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*Tavernier *is not consistent with himself as to the Nature of this Office; for he makes this* Meter *sometimes the Chief Valet de Chambre, at other Times Grand Master of the Wardrobe, and sometimes First Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. Sir* John Chardin *in his Account of the Coronation of* Solyman *makes him Great Chamberlain.*

What M. *Tavernier* says relating to the Shame and Confusion of the Governor of *Lar* upon this Occasion, is a plain Proof of the Contempt they had in *Persia* for such of their Countrymen as dishonoured themselves by so unworthy a Debasement of Manhood; and this makes it probable that their Number was not great. Consequently the Bulk of the Eunuchs consisted only of Foreigners, who were purchased at a good Price when Children, the common Pay for such being fifty Tomans a Head, which is about three thousand Livres. Being carried from their Childhood into the Haram, there they were brought up with all the Care and Delicacy possible, in order to render them the more in love with the King's Service, to whose Goodness they were obliged for all the Sweets of Life which they enjoy'd there. But the Pleasure they found within the Haram did not free them from Contempt when they went Abroad, where they always rode upon Mules or Asses, or else walked a-foot, not being allowed the Use of Horses. As often as they appeared in Publick, they were sure to be hooted at by the Populace, which was not displeasing to the Kings, who permitted it very willingly, from a Notion they had, that the Contempt and Aversion which the Publick expressed for those Wretches, would be one Reason why they ought to be the more devoted to their Princes, from whom they receive nought but

good Uſage and Favours. But Things had quite another Aſpect in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, during which thoſe very People that were before the Object of the Scorn and Ridicule of all that paſſed by, never went Abroad without the moſt ſplendid Equipage, and with a Train and Retinue that taught the People to pay Reſpect to thoſe whom they had been uſed to deſpiſe. Inſtead of being aſhamed of their Condition then, they valu'd themſelves upon it, and carried the Jeſt ſo far upon this Head, as to cauſe an Edict to be publiſhed in the King's Name, forbidding the making of Capons; which ſhew'd as if thoſe Half-Men were uneaſy to ſee a ſort of ſpecifick Character, which they pretended was an Honour to their Perſons, proſtituted to brute Creatures.

Towards the Cloſe of *Schah-Solyman's* Reign they began to open a Way to that ſurprizing Credit which they attained to under his Succeſſor. This Monarch who had hitherto always kept them on the antient Footing, fell, unhappily for him and his Poſterity, into that State of Infirmity and Decay, wherein they who command the reſt of Mankind are at the Mercy of their Officers and Domeſticks, and at the Diſcretion of their Phyſicians and Valets de Chambre. As they have more Reaſons to be fond of Life than the moſt happy of their Subjects, and, as by the Care that is taken to keep at a Diſtance every Thing

Thing that may give them the leaſt Trouble, they are not ſo much uſed to ſuffering as others, all Services which tend either to divert the Danger, or to diminiſh the preſent Affliction, riſe in Value in proportion to the Senſe of what they ſuffer, and to their Abhorrence of Death. In Situations of this Kind, a ſlight Service done to their Perſons affects them much more than great Service performed to the State, and all the Merit of the moſt important Victory is nothing in their Eſtimation to the Merit of giving a little Eaſe in the Extremity of Pain.

Such was the Condition *Schah-Solyman* was reduced to by a very painful Gout, which confined him to his Bed two whole Years, during which, being ſhut up within the Walls of his Haram, where none but Eunuchs came near his Perſon, they were familiar to him, and he looked upon their Attendance on his Perſon with another Eye to what he did before: Their Care, their Uneaſineſs, their Readineſs in the minuteſt Services, ſeemed to him to be of quite another Value than he uſed to put upon them. He found they had Knowledge, Learning, and Sentiments which he had not yet perceived: He gave Ear to their Councils with Delight: His Eſteem for them increaſed every Day; and as the Intereſts of his Kingdom were not more at his Heart, than thoſe of his Health and Life, he thought he could not do better than to truſt the former with Perſons

ſons, to whom he had ſo happily truſted the latter. The Diſtance of his Miniſters who remain'd without, and with whom he could have ſcarce any Communication, ſeemed to put him under the Neceſſity of dealing thus, and of granting, as he did, the general Superintendency of the Government of the Kingdom, over the Heads of all the Miniſters and great Officers, to an Eunuch in whom he had plac'd an extraordinary Confidence.

'Tis true, that his more than ordinary Merit, being a Man of a great Genius and uncommon Capacity, ſeem'd, as it were before-hand to juſtify the King's Choice; but the Event of Things juſtified it yet more: For *Chagia-Drak*, which was the Eunuch's Name, manag'd Affairs ſo wiſely, providing for every Thing, preventing Diſcontents, pacifying Commotions in their Birth, and impreſſing Fear and Reſpect on the boldeſt, by propagating ſeaſonable Reports, as to the Recovery of the King's Health, that the Kingdom loſt nothing by that Prince's Inaction during his Illneſs. This he found himſelf, as ſoon as his Health was reſtor'd; and 'twas this that induced him to form out of the chief of his Eunuchs, whom he join'd in Commiſſion with Him that had ſerv'd him ſo well during his Illneſs, a particular Council, which he render'd ſuperior to all the Miniſters. He flatter'd himſelf, he had a double Advantage in this new Eſtabliſhment; for on the one

one hand he thereby diverted upon the Eunuchs the Odium of what might ſometimes appear harſh in the Government; and on the other hand, as Employments of ſuch Importance gave the Eunuchs an Opportunity to acquire great Riches, the King found his Accompt in it, becauſe all their Eſtates coming to him by Right after their Death, the Treaſure they gather'd muſt be his.

SCHAH-HUSSEIN, who when he ſucceeded *Schah-Solyman* his Father, found Things ſettled on this Foot, was far from diminiſhing the Prerogatives or Authority of the Perſons that had lately plac'd him on the Throne, and of whoſe Aſſiſtance, even though he had not lain under an Obligation to them of that Importance, his natural Incapacity and Genius accuſtom'd to Subjection, would have oblig'd him to make uſe for ſupporting a Crown, the Weight of which was too heavy for him.

THUS therefore did the Eunuchs become under *Schah-Huſſein*, the Arbiters of Affairs, the Diſpenſers of Employments and Favours, and abſolute Maſters of the Government, aſſuming to themſelves the Authority of all Offices, which were little more than empty Titles in the Hands of thoſe that held 'em; for though Affairs paſs'd as formerly, through the Hands of theſe Titulars, they did not dare to decide any Thing of Importance, without taking Orders from thoſe chief Maſters, who compos'd a ſovereign Senate;

in

in which every Thing was drawn up over Night that was to be laid next Day before the King's Council. The *Athemat-Doulet*, *i. e.* Prime Minister, was no more exempt from this Servitude than the other Ministers or Officers of inferior Note. The only Person that wanted to be free from it, and to shake off the Yoke of so shameful a Dependance, far'd the worse for it, and though none could reproach him, fell under the most cruel Disgrace, as will be shewn in due Time: Not but that the common and less important Affairs ran in the usual Channel, and always remain'd at his Disposal; but as to grand Affairs, such as making Peace or War, Treaties with foreign Powers, and the Nomination of the Viceroyships or Governments of Provinces and lesser Towns, as well as of all Subaltern Offices; all this was reserv'd to the Sovereign Senate of the Eunuchs, who while the King was buried in the Delights of his Haram, and not so much taken up with the Government of his Dominions as the least of his Subjects, disposed of the chief Places of his Kingdom, and of the Fortunes of all the Grandees as they pleased, in his Name. Neither the Merit nor Services of the Candidates were consider'd in the Distribution of Offices, to which there was no Access, but by the Interest and Favour of those to whom the King had left the arbitrary Disposal. Those Wretches, more covetous, though they had no Heirs

to leave their Treaſures to, than ſuch generally are who have numerous Families, ſold their Protection for Gold, and drove a publick Trade, as it were, in Governments and Employments. Offices were diſpoſed of, not to the moſt deſerving, but to the higheſt Bidder. This Diſorder, very pernicious in it ſelf, proved yet worſe in its Conſequences: In the firſt Place, becauſe it ſtifled all Emulation, and made People indifferent in acquiring the neceſſary Knowledge and Qualifications, no Body giving themſelves the Trouble to obtain or cultivate Talents, which they ſaw were of no Service. Secondly, becauſe ſuch as attain'd to Offices by this Method, having drein'd their Pockets to purchaſe them, were no ſooner in Place, but they practiſed all Manner of Extortion, and made a Penny of every Thing, not only to reimburſe themſelves the Sums it coſt them to obtain their Employments, but alſo that they might be in a Condition to ſupport their Characters.

In ſhort, the inſatiable Avarice of the Eunuchs that govern'd in the Name of *Schah-Huſſein*, puſh'd their Oppreſſions to ſuch Exceſs, that the like had not been known under any of his Predeceſſors; and it was ſome ſort of Excuſe for the moſt criminal Extortions of thoſe that govern'd in the Provinces. As thus;

'Twas a very conſtant Cuſtom in *Perſia*, in the Diſpoſal of Governments, to beſtow them

them for Life; and ſcarce any were diſplac'd, unleſs they had given Occaſion by too flagrant Acts of Injuſtice, or unleſs it was to promote them to more conſiderable Stations; ſo that if they had been oblig'd to advance any Sums for their Places, as 'twas ten to one but they had, though their Expences were much more moderate than in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, yet they had not the other Exactions to fear from the Court afterwards, ſave only when the King ſent them the *Calaate*, the Name they give to the rich Veſt with which the King preſented the Governors of Towns or Provinces, as a Mark of his Satisfaction with their paſt Adminiſtration, and as a Title which confirm'd them again in their Poſt. To carry this Veſt, ſome Officer of the Court was generally choſe, whom the King or his Miniſters had a Mind to gratify; for they were oblig'd, not only to defray the Expences of his Journey, and during his Stay, but alſo to make him a conſiderable Preſent, which was alſo tax'd ſometimes at the King's Pleaſure. But as under the Predeceſſors of *Schah-Huſſein* the *Calaate* was ſent but once a Year, and generally at the Beginning of the Year, which in *Perſia* takes Date at the Vernal Equinox, theſe Expences were looked upon as Part of the ordinary Charge annexed to the Office, and could not ſerve the Governor as a Pretence to oppreſs the People under his Juriſdiction. But

it was not ſo under *Schah-Huſſein*; the Preſent that was made but once a Year under his Predeceſſors being made almoſt every Month during his Reign, and thoſe *Calaates*, or Royal Veſts, were ſent ſo often, that there were Governors who boaſted they had as many for Change, as they had Shirts. Nevertheleſs they did not complain againſt it; for they found their Account in it, becauſe by favour of thoſe extraordinary Preſents, and under Colour of the Gratuity which they were oblig'd to make to the Officer that brought them, they raiſed ten Times as much upon the People. The Eunuchs on their Part found their Advantage in it; for beſides that it gave them an Opportunity to gratify their Creatures, without any Expence to themſelves, by procuring them ſo lucrative a Commiſſion as the carrying of the *Calaate* to the Governors, the latter underſtood their own Intereſt better than to let thoſe Meſſengers return to Court without loading them with rich Preſents for their Maſters, the whole at the Expence of the poor People, who were more and more drain'd by Jobs of that kind ſo frequently repeated, and were ſtill farther exhauſted by the Alterations of Governors, which for Reaſons that ſhall be mentioned hereafter, became very frequent under the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*.

This may eaſily be imagin'd, if it be conſider'd what the Power of thoſe Governors

was

was in the Provinces where they commanded, and where they were deem'd as ſo many Sovereigns: For no ſooner did the Advice come of the Nomination of a new Governor, but the chief Men of the Province met in a Body, and began by regulating the Sum which was certainly to be raiſed forthwith, either for the Charge of the Governor's Reception, which they took care to make with ſuch Magnificence as ſhould pleaſe him, or for the Preſents which they were oblig'd to make over and above, by the Value of which he rated the Eſteem and Regard they had for his Perſon. For this Purpoſe they fixed a Sum of three or four thouſand Tomans to be raiſed, in equal Proportions, by the private Men of the Province; and as they who ſettled the Sum were the very Men charg'd with the Aſſeſſment, they were ſo cunning that they found Means to gain ſix Times as much by it. This was the Method they took in all the extraordinary Contributions which they laid upon the People.

How burthenſome ſoever this Reception of new Governors was to the Province, and to private People, it was tolerable however when it happen'd but ſeldom; and this perhaps is one of the Reaſons that had induced the Predeceſſors of *Schah-Huſſein* to give Governments for Life, and not to change them without great Reaſons, the rather becauſe thoſe Alte-

Alterations could not be made without taking vaſt Sums of Money from the Province.

To underſtand this, you muſt know that in *Perſia*, though none but the King has a Right to coin Silver Money, the Governors of the Province have a Right to coin Copper: And this Money, which is fixed at a certain value in their Province while they command there, ſinks one Half in the Value when they are diſplaced, and never goes for any more in the other Provinces; ſo that a Piece of Copper which is worth Ten Pence in the Province where the Governor commands with whoſe Stamp it was coin'd, is worth but Five Pence in all the other Provinces of the Kingdom; and ſuffers the ſame Abatement in his own too, the Moment he gives Place to his Succeſſor. By this Means, a Man who goes to Bed at Night with a Ten-penny Piece in his Breeches, finds but Five Pence there in the Morning, if the Governor was chang'd in the Night. And it was hardly poſſible but theſe Alterations muſt often happen under a Prince ſo weak as *Schah-Huſſein*, led too by People who, at the ſame Time that they governed him, could not agree with one another.

Those who have read the Accounts of *Perſia* know, that there, as well as in *Turky*, the Princes make uſe of two Sorts of Eunuchs, ſome black and others white; that the firſt are for the Guards of the Women in the Inner-Haram, where they are kept ſhut up; and

the others to attend the King, or for the Guard of the Princes of the Royal Blood, in a particular Haram ſeparate from that of the Women.

The Council of the Eunuchs, which *Schah-Huſſein* had form'd, after the Example of his Predeceſſor, and to whom he had left a greater Share of Empire and Authority than they had in the preceding Reign, conſiſted of the Chief of theſe two ſorts of Eunuchs, who having equally contributed to place *Schah-Huſſein* upon the Throne, equally ſhared in his Acknowledgment. No wonder that the Eunuchs of theſe two Sorts did not agree: The very Difference of their Complexions was enough to found a natural Antipathy between the two Parties; and the Jealouſy of Favour and Authority which each Party ſtrove to gain over the other, was a vaſt Addition to it. But what rendered it more incurable is, that is was founded upon a Spirit of Faction which the Kings of *Perſia*, from *Schah-Abas* the Great, who firſt introduced this Maxim in Government, thought it was Policy to keep up, not only between the Eunuchs and the Grandees of the Court, but alſo among all their Subjects.

This Prince who aſcended the Throne in 1585. and who is looked upon in *Perſia* as the Reſtorer of the Monarchy, had left to his Succeſſors, among the moſt important Secrets for the Maintenance of their Authority, that dangerous

dangerous Maxim, *Divide & Impera.* As the Crown had not been long in his Family, and as he was but the Great Great-Grandſon of *Schah-Iſmael*, the firſt of the *Sophies* that had uſurp'd it from the antient Kings, he was even more upon his Guard againſt his Subjects than againſt his Neighbours. In order to make ſure of the one by the Antipathy of the other, he took Care to introduce into all the Cities of this Kingdom, foreign Colonies of ſuch Nations as were the leaſt likely of making Alliances, and whoſe Genius, Character, Humor, Cuſtoms, Manners, and Language too, were moſt oppoſite and incompatible. Out of all theſe different Nations aſſembled in the ſame Towns, and obliged to live under the ſame Laws, he found Means, by ſowing Diviſion among them, to form in each Town two Factions ſo oppoſite, and ſo much Enemies one to the other, that People of different States, in Arms againſt one another, do not puſh their Averſion and Enmity farther.

These two Factions, one of which was called *Pelenk*, and the other *Felenk*, and which were diſtinguiſhed from one another by the particular Colour that each choſe for the Neck-Bands of their Shirts, were equally diſtributed in every Town, where they formed, as it were, two different Nations, that had no Relation with one another; the one Party not being able ocontract Marriage, or even to eat with

the other. Each of these Factions had their Estates separate, and so inalienable, that whatever happened, the Houses and Lands appertaining to either of the two Parties, could not devolve to the other. It was especially at the Celebration of the famous Feast of *Hocen*, and *Hussein*, *Ali*'s Son-in-Law, that the Enmity of the two Parties broke out in a more remarkable manner, by means of the Permission that was then given them to Fight. Though they did it without Arms, because they were not suffered to make use of any Thing else but Stones and Sticks, it was with so much Fury and Blood-shed, that the King was often obliged to employ his Guards to separate them with drawn Swords: And hard was it to accomplish it, even with a Method so effectual, insomuch that at *Ispahan* in 1714. they were under a Necessity, before they could separate the Combatants, to put above Three hundred to the Sword on the Spot. 'Tis true that the Spirit of Superstition contributed not a little to keep up and aggravate the Animosity of the two Parties; for they who happen'd to fall in Battles of this Nature, were looked upon as Martyrs. Instead of pitying them they were envy'd, and People were very scrupulous of having so much as a Thought of revenging a Death, which proved to them in the Nature of an Apotheosis. When the Battle was over, each Faction carefully took up the Bodies of their respective Party, which had the Happiness,

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according to them, to fall a Sacrifice to ſo holy a Solemnity; and they were buried with all the Pomp and Veneration that ſeemed due to Perſons that were looked upon as the Friends and Favourites of the great Prophet *Ali*.

This maſſacring Feaſt of *Huſſein* was celebrated with the ſame Pomp, and the ſame Diſorders in all the Towns of *Perſia*. The Governors preſide at them, ſurrounded with their Guards, which they alſo employ'd to ſeparate the Combatants, when their proceeding to Blows forced them to it. Notwithſtanding the Confuſion and Trouble which ſuch a ſort of civil War muſt occaſion, the Houſes on both Sides were ſecured from Plunder; and if it happened that any one was broke open, thoſe of the oppoſite Party were fined in great Sums, to make good the Damages, *&c.*

Schah-Abas the Great who had eſtabliſhed thoſe Cuſtoms, was ſenſible that there was nothing more proper to keep up in every City the Animoſity of the two Factions into which it was divided; and upon whoſe Antipathy he founded the Security of the Throne more than upon any Thing elſe; and it muſt be confeſſed that, how ſtrange ſoever his Policy appeared in this Reſpect, it always had the Effect he propoſed, which was to hinder any Town from riſing unanimouſly in Rebellion againſt the Prince. Things were ſo managed, that the two Factions in each Town were as ſtrong one as the other, and equally incenſed with

one another. Their Children ſuck'd with their very Milk an Averſion, or rather an Abhorrence for every Thing that belonged to the contrary Party. The continual and determinate Reſolution to avoid all Manner of Dealings with one another, and every Shadow of Relation and Affinity that might tend in the leaſt to bring them acquainted, only ſerved to foment that Horror, and to fortify it by a Habit. A mutual Diffidence kept each Party to their Duty, and neither of the two dared to ſtir for fear of giving Advantage to the other, which, when ſupported by the Forces and Authority of the Government, could not fail of gaining the Aſcendant.

This Wall of Separation erected by *Schah-Abas* in all Parts of the Kingdom, and carefully kept up by the Skill and Vigilance of the Governors, had more Force and Virtue towards maintaining the Peace of the Cities and Provinces, than the moſt numerous Garriſons could have had; ſo that from the Time of *Schah-Abas*, to the Troubles of the latter Times, there was not one Town that diſcovered ſo much as a Thought of revolting; and if the ſame Policy had been obſerved at *Candahar*, as in the other Governments of the Kingdom, 'tis not to be doubted but it would have removed all Pretence for that Rebellion which was the Cauſe of the late Revolution.

When *Schah-Abas* the Great took that City, his firſt Care was to eſtabliſh two different

ferent Factions in it, and to keep them up by the ſame Methods which he made uſe of in the other Towns of his Monarchy. But the City being retaken by the Mogul, under the Reign of *Schah-Sefi*, Grandſon and Succeſſor to *Schah-Abas*, the Cuſtoms which the latter had eſtabliſhed there, vaniſhed by Degrees, and were aboliſhed by Non-uſage: And though *Schah-Abas* II. Son and Succeſſor to *Schah-Sefi*, reconquered it afterwards, yet either from a ſort of Regard for a Frontier Town, which they had a Mind to ſpare, or from the Indolence of the Miniſters, they neglected to revive the ſame Seeds of Diſcord, and the ſame Practices which *Schah-Abas* II. had eſtabliſhed there when he conquered it; a Negligence which it was not foreſeen, would have been attended with Conſequences ſo fatal, and which, as was afterwards proved, coſt the Race of the *Sophies* the Loſs of the Throne.

The fomenting of theſe Civil Diſcords was one of that kind of Engines which require skilful Hands to manage them, and which cauſe as much Diſorder when they come to fall in Pieces, and to be entangled by the Folly or Luke-warmneſs of thoſe who have the Direction of them, as they do Good in a State when they are well conducted, and their Springs kept in good Repair. This was the very Caſe in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, during which thoſe domeſtick Animoſities between the In-

habitants of one and the ſame Town, being no longer moderated by an Authority ſtrong enough to keep them within due Bounds, quickly broke out into open Wars. The two Parties did not attack one another now with Stones and Clubs, but with martial Arms; and, upon ſome Occaſions, Matters were puſhed ſo far, that after a great deal of Blood ſpilt, they were obliged to ſend for Troops on Purpoſe from the Neighbouring Provinces, in order to force the Combatants on both Sides to part, and to reſtore Peace. Theſe Outrages were the more frequent, becauſe the Governors of the Towns, who found their Account in it, contributed to them; and, after having ſecretly kindled the Flame by Means of their Emiſſaries, who ſet them together by the Ears, they made a Handle of it to condemn each Party to a great Fine, which they put in their own Pockets.

The ſame Spirit of Diſcord and Antipathy raged in the Country, as in the City; and 'tis certain, indeed, that when ſuch Diviſions are well managed, a Prince is ſure to find in one Half of his Subjects a good Safeguard againſt the Enterprizes of the other. But, on the other hand, when this Policy is carried too far, it deprives him of the Service of thoſe Forces which would undoubtedly be a great Aſſiſtance to him, if their mutual Animoſity did not hinder their acting in Concert. *Schah-Huſſein* ſadly experienced this during the Siege

Siege of *Iſpahan :* Some Leagues from that City there were two very brave Nations, who lived under Tents, after the Manner of the *Tartars*, *viz.* the *Lorians*, and the *Bachtilarians*. Each of them was able to raiſe an Army of 20000 Men, one of which was ſufficient to force the Rebels to raiſe the Siege. But becauſe each Army was divided into two Factions, like the reſt of the Kingdom, and becauſe each of thoſe Factions was for depriving the other of the Honour that might accrue to it of having delivered the Capital, they could never agree to make War together; ſo that this Army, which, if they had been united and acted in Concert, would have infallibly defeated the Rebels, and ſaved the King and the Capital, was defeated itſelf, and put to flight, becauſe they were divided into two Bodies, which acting ſeparately and independently on each other, were too weak a-part to make Head againſt an Enemy equal in Valour, and much ſuperior in Number.

Such, therefore, was the Conſtitution of the Government in *Perſia*, which was only ſupported by an exact *Equilibrium* between the Parties. The Spirit of Diviſion was therein ſo generally propagated, that there was not a ſingle Man but was of one or other Faction. From hence 'tis eaſy to imagine what Havock it made at the Court, that is to ſay, in a Country where the Spirit of Faction was always kept up, when it was baniſhed

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from the reſt of the World. Indeed it did not break out there, as it did among the Common People, in Inſults, Quarrels, and Scuffles; but Attacks are not the leſs vigorous and dangerous for being ſilent and crafty. There were always two Factions at Court in the Reigns of *Schah-Huſſein*'s Predeceſſors, as well as in his Time; but the Diſorders they occaſioned were not the ſame by much, as they were at the Court of *Schah-Huſſein*. As thoſe Princes governed by themſelves; and as they knew how to ſtrike a Terror, their Authority kept both Parties in Awe; and if any Storm was formed to the Umbrage of the Throne, a Regard for the Sovereign quickly diſperſed it. But it was not ſo in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, who was a Prince formed rather for Obedience than Command, too ſimple to diſcover the Artifices of thoſe who were about him, and too weak to defend himſelf againſt them, if he had known their Deſigns. The Eunuchs, whoſe Authority, though it was great ſo early as the latter Times of his Predeceſſor *Schah-Solyman*, was always checked by the Fear of diſpleaſing a King, who in the Choice of his Miniſters, deſigned they ſhould be no more than Miniſters, were not under the ſame Reſtraint in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein* his Son and Succeſſor: And being inveſted with a Power which made them like ſo many Kings, they could have deſired nothing more, if they could but have agreed together.

gether. But it was a Thing impoſſible, conſidering the inveterate Antipathy which there was between the White Eunuchs and the Black ones, and which the Kings of *Perſia* all along made it a Maxim in Politicks to keep up and foment. *Schah-Huſſein* not able to keep a Balance between the two Parties, to whom he had equal Obligation, and to whom he was under equal Subjection, gave Ear by Turns to both, and each in Turn was oblig'd to ſubmit, from whence aroſe thoſe frequent Alterations which were made in the Governments, in the Command of the Armies, and in the principal and moſt important Places of the Kingdom.

The Eunuchs of the two Complexions agreed only in one Thing, which was to have the Management of all Affairs, excluſive of all other Perſons. But beyond this, each of theſe Caſts had their ſeparate Views and particular Creatures, which each Party endeavour'd to advance, as well to make a Shew of their Credit, as to ſupport their Fortune. And as there was no Preferment to be got, but through the Canal of thoſe Almighty Miniſters and Diſpenſers of all Favours, there was a Neceſſity of adhering to either the White or Black Eunuchs, of whoſe two Factions, by neceſſary Conſequence, the whole Court conſiſted. When either of the two Parties had procur'd a Government for one of their Creatures, the contrary Party preſently ſet

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all Engines at Work to remove him, and to put one of theirs in his Place; and it being always more eaſy to do Hurt than Good, eſpecially under a weak Prince, the End was obtain'd with little or no Difficulty. But the new Subſtitute was no ſooner in Place, than he was expos'd to the ſame Shocks, and immediately demoliſh'd. Conſequently every Governor who judged what might come to paſs from what had happen'd, and who by the ſpeedy Removal of his Predeceſſor, was warned that his own was at hand, left no Time, but haſten'd to fill his Purſe, that he might have wherewithal to purchaſe a new Place, or to defend himſelf againſt any Proſecution he had to apprehend for his Oppreſſions, the whole at the Expence of the poor People, who were fleeced in all Reſpects by thoſe too frequent Alterations, as has been already obſerv'd.

The ſame Thing was done, but with much greater Prejudice to the State, with Reſpect to the Command of the Armies: A General ſway'd by either of the two Factions, was no ſooner ſet out upon any Expedition, but the other did all they could to render it abortive; the Troops were never in the Condition they ſhould be, neither for Number nor Quality, or elſe they did not arrive ſoon enough in the Field: Ammunition or Proviſions were always wanting, inſomuch that an Army, which was already half ruin'd by Scarcity and the

Want

Want of the greateſt Neceſſaries, did not hold out againſt an Enemy far inferior in Number; and to this was owing the Ruin of ſeveral flouriſhing Armies in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, which were cut in Pieces with their Generals in the Wars which the State had engag'd in againſt the *Leſgians* and *Aghvans*. Nothing perhaps contributed more than this ill Conduct to draw the latter to *Iſpahan*, of which they at laſt made themſelves Maſters. What is moſt deplorable in all this, is, that notwithſtanding the Deſolation over the whole Kingdom from Loſſes ſo conſiderable, none bore a Part in it but the Adherents of the Eunuchs, who had eſpouſed the routed General, while thoſe of the contrary Party triumph'd in the publick Calamity, of which they had under hand been the firſt Movers: They did not value the Death of 30000 Men; the Prejudice the oppoſite Faction receiv'd by ſuch a Faction, made them eaſy, while the whole Kingdom ſuffer'd by it; and when an able experienc'd General dropp'd, they conſider'd it in no other View, than as the Loſs of an Enemy that made Way for one of their Creatures. Thus did theſe Halves of Men inſolently ſport with the Fortune of the Grandees, the Lives of private Men, and the Forces of all the State.

'Tis ſurprizing that the Grandees of the Kingdom could ſuffer under ſuch baſe Tyranny, without repining, and that they did not

not exert all the Credit and Authority which they might derive from their Birth and Services to ſet themſelves free; but the Seeds of Jealouſy and Diſcord which the Eunuchs had had the Policy to propagate in the moſt conſiderable and moſt potent Families, by ſetting Brothers againſt Brothers, had put them out of a Condition to undertake any Thing. This they did with Regard to *Alimerdam-Kan*, the greateſt Captain of that Time in *Perſia*, and the only one perhaps that was capable to hinder the Revolution, as he would infallibly have done, if his Projects had not been thwarted. The Power, Abilities, and great Reputation of that Nobleman giving them Umbrage, they ſet his own Brother upon his Back; and under ſome Pretence, or other, which Miniſters are never at a Loſs for to ruin whom they pleaſe, they turn'd him out of his Government, which he held in the ſame Nature as a Principality hereditary in his Family; and after having baniſh'd him to *Kyrman*, they put his Brother in his Place. They made uſe of the ſame Artifice againſt the Princes of *Gengea* and *Georgia*, by overturning the antient Order of Succeſſion in their Families. When the Anceſtors of thoſe Princes, whom *Schah-Abas the Great* ſubdued more by Cunning than Strength, conſented to become Vaſſals to the Crown, it was on Condition that their Principalities ſhould always remain hereditary in their Family: And though gene-

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rally ſpeaking, the King of *Perſia* had it in his Power to chuſe out of the Princes of one and the ſame Family, which ſoever he pleaſed to be Governor in Chief, it was always the conſtant Practice under *Schah-Huſſein*'s Predeceſſors, to conform in that Point to the Order of Nature, and to give the Preference to the Elder, excluſive of the Younger. The Eunuchs under *Schah-Huſſein* had no Regard to this Cuſtom, but having it only in their View to divide and embroil Families, from a Jealouſy of their Grandeur and Intereſt, they choſe which ſoever of the Family they thought fit, to inveſt him with the Principality, by preferring the Younger in Contempt of the Elder. This irregular Conduct, which made a Diviſion in thoſe great Families, and ſet the Brothers together by the Ears, turn'd to the Prejudice of the State. They employ'd thoſe Forces to make War with one another, which might have been uſefully employ'd againſt the Enemies of the Kingdom; nay, often one of the Parties held Intelligence with them, and under-hand aſſiſted them; ſo that upon a certain Occaſion, when the Prince of *Gengea* commanded the *Perſian* Army againſt the *Leſgians* upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom, he had like to have fallen into the Enemy's Hands, through the Treachery of his Brother, whom they had unjuſtly diſpoſeſs'd of his Principality: For *Wachtanga* was the only Prince of the Family of the Princes of *Georgia*,

Georgia, who, with regard to this arbitrary Diſpoſal of the Principalities, which the Eunuchs had introduc'd, was Proof againſt the general Temptation; for the Principality having been offered to him to the Prejudice of his elder Brother, he generouſly refuſed it from a Sentiment of Equity, ſaying, *That if God had been willing he ſhould have been Prince of* Georgia, *he would have ſent him into the World before his Brother, to whom the Principality rightfully belong'd as his elder Brother, and who could not be deprived of it without Injuſtice.*

'Tis natural to imagine from the Manner of giving away Governments in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, and by the frequent Changes owing to the Intrigues of the two oppoſite Factions of the White and Black Eunuchs, that the People had a great deal to ſuffer under Governors who regarded their Poſt no more than a Place to bait at, made it more their Study to pillage the Cities and Provinces, than to keep up good Order; and this they did with the leſs Caution and Reſerve, becauſe they were very ſenſible that they might do it with Impunity.

Schah-Hussein was born with a Diſpoſition, which was kind, and an Enemy to all manner of Violence: This Temper of his, in which there was as great a Mixture of Fear and Folly, as of true Humanity, required a wiſe Corrective in a Prince of his Character. It happen'd, on the

the contrary, that it was even made worſe by the ſelfiſh Inſinuations of the Eunuchs that governed him; and who by horribly repreſenting to him certain Inſtances of Severity, of which ſome of his Predeceſſors had been guilty, render'd him incapable of conſenting to any Severity, though never ſo moderate or neceſſary.

NOTHING is more proper to characteriſe this Prince, and to ſhew what Notion he had of Clemency, than a Paſſage I am going to mention, of which the whole Court was witneſs. In the Gardens of his Palace there was a Pond, on which a great Number of Ducks was always ſwimming. *Schah-Huſſein* took a Pleaſure ſometimes to fire his Piſtol over the Pond, not to hurt, but only to frighten them. It happened one Day unluckily and undeſignedly, that one of thoſe Shots wounded ſome of the Ducks; at which he himſelf was as much terrified as if he had really committed Murder, and made the ſame Exclamation as is cuſtomary in *Perſia* upon the ſhedding of human Blood, by ſaying, *Kanluol-dum*, i. e. *I am polluted with Blood;* and that very Inſtant he cauſed two hundred Tomans to be given to the Poor, as an Atonement for what he thought a great Sin.

A Prince who was ſo tender conſcienc'd in the Point of wounding a few Ducks, was very loth to give his Conſent to the ſhedding of human Blood, though as a Puniſhment of

the greateſt Crimes: And for twenty Years, and more, that his Reign had laſted, he never paſs'd one Sentence of Death, and conſequently never put on the Red Habit, which was the ſpecifick Colour the Kings of *Perſia* wore when they were to pronounce any Sentence of Death.

The Eunuchs found a two-fold Advantage in that boundleſs Clemency, with which they had inſpir'd *Schah-Huſſein*; firſt of all, becauſe it ſecur'd their own Heads upon their Shoulders; ſecondly, becauſe contrary to the Principles of good Government which the Great *Schah-Abas* had eſtabliſh'd, and contrary to the Practice of the Kings of *Perſia*, they had reduc'd all the Pains, even in the moſt puniſhable Crimes, to Forfeitures and Fines, which they had the Cunning, as we ſhall now obſerve, to convert to their own Profit.

Before *Schah-Huſſein*'s Reign, nothing was more unuſual in the Puniſhment of the Grandees, than the Forfeiture of Eſtate. Their Heads paid for their Guilt, but the Eſtates remain'd in the Families, who by that Means always ſupported themſelves, and were in a Condition to fill the great Poſts, and to ſerve the Prince with Dignity. In this they conform'd to the Maxims of the great *Schah-Abas*, who among the political Principles he left to his Succeſſors, recommended this in particular, that they ought to puniſh the

Great and the Rich with corporal Pains, and, on the contrary, the Vulgar and the Poor with pecuniary Fines. He made this Maxim his Foundation, that the former being poſſeſſed of great Eſtates, were more affected by corporal Puniſhment than by the Diminution of their Wealth; whereas the latter, who abounded in nothing, would be affected more by the leaſt pecuniary Fine, than by bodily Pains. And under the Reigns of that Prince, and his Succeſſors, to the laſt who was dethron'd, when a great Man was guilty of any Fault that did not deſerve Death, he was condemned to receive a certain Number of Blows upon the Soals of his Feet; a Puniſhment ſo ſevere, that ſometimes they died of it, or at leaſt were not able for a long while to ſet their Feet upon the Ground. The Conſequence was, that the Fear of this Puniſhment for Faults that were not capital, and the Apprehenſion of ſuffering Death for thoſe that were, kept the chief Officers of the Court, the Governors of the Towns and Provinces, and even the inferior Magiſtrates, in Awe, becauſe they were certain that the ſlighteſt Abuſe which they ſhould make of the Authority they were truſted with, would be ſeverely puniſhed in their Perſons.

The falſe Notion of Clemency, with which the Eunuchs inſpir'd *Schah-Huſſein*, buried thoſe wiſe Maxims in Oblivion, and changed

the Sentences of Death into Forfeiture of Eſtates, and corporal Puniſhments into pecuniary Fines, to the Advantage of thoſe avaritious Miniſters, who abuſing the Simplicity of their Maſter, and the timorous Piety which he exerciſed in his Religion, made him ſcrupulous of admitting into his own Treaſure thoſe Fines and Forfeitures which they repreſented to him as the Fruits of Iniquity, and which they made no Scruple to receive from his Hands, as a Gratuity for themſelves, their Adherents, and Creatures.

As Fear only is the moſt effectual Motive to keep Men in their Duty, eſpecially among People over whoſe Conduct the Principles of Religion and Morality have but ſmall Influence, it was hardly poſſible but the Aſſurance of Impunity muſt relax all the Springs of Government. Conſequently all that were in Authority in the Towns and Provinces, only made uſe of it to ſatisfy their inſatiable Avarice. Being perſuaded that they had nothing to fear, provided they had wherewithal to feed their Protectors, and that the worſt they could undergo, would be to refund Part of what they had robb'd, they took care to plunder enough, that they might be in a Condition to live at their Eaſe, even after they had paid great Fines; ſo that all they minded, was to invent and put in Practice new Tricks every Day to obtain their Ends.

The Tributes in *Perſia* are very moderate, and, as every one knows what he is to pay, the Recovery of it is not difficult nor burthenſome to private Perſons. Every Town or Village, for Inſtance, is aſſeſſed to pay a certain fixed Sum which ſtands, as it were, for the Capital of what it is to pay; but the caſual and indirect Extortions always far exceed the Capital; which will appear more plain from what follows.

In the Principality of *Gengea* there's a Town conſiſting of two hundred *Armenian* Families. This Town is Part of the Appennage of the King's Mother, to whom it pays fifty Tomans, or three thouſand Livres. It happened ſome Years ago, that in one Week only a Fine of three hundred Tomans, or eighteen thouſand Livres, was paid by ſome of the principal Townſmen. This is a Fact, of which the Author who furniſhed the chief Memoirs of this Hiſtory was a Witneſs.

One of the Princes of *Georgia* enjoys five Towns, or Villages, which the King of *Perſia* mortgaged to him in *Hyrcania*; and which brings him in a Revenue of forty-five Tomans, or ſeventeen hundred Livres. There's a ſort of Intendant called *Deroga*, who has Juriſdiction over thoſe five Towns, and whoſe Buſineſs is not only to raiſe that Sum, but alſo to do Juſtice, and to prevent the Diſorders and Quarrels which often ariſe with the Inhabitants of the adjacent Towns, either upon

Account of Water, which is very ſcarce in *Perſia*, or on Account of the Paſture, which every one diſputes to that Degree that ſometimes they proceed to Blows. This *Deroga* has twenty Guards, whom he is obliged to maintain at his own Charge. Beſides the Tribute of forty-five Tomans which he levies upon the five Towns of his Juriſdiction, he is alſo obliged to furniſh forty-five more under Colour of a Free-Gift, to keep himſelf in his Poſt; and though he has no other Eſtate but the Fines, of which he is even obliged to give one Half to his principal Patron, he finds in the other Half of thoſe Fines not only enough to diſcharge his Free-Gift, to pay his twenty Guards, and to maintain himſelf in Plenty, but alſo to enrich himſelf. As theſe Fines are arbitrary, there's Cauſe to believe that theſe ſort of Judges, who profit by them, always extend them to the higheſt Pitch.

Of this we may judge by another Fact, of which my Author was Witneſs. In a Town named *Akuli*, one of the moſt conſiderable that the *Armenians* poſſeſs in *Perſia*, the *Deroga* that commanded there perceiving a private Man's Aſs, who lived there, browzing in his Neighbour's Vineyard, fined the Owner of the Aſs fifty Crowns. The Owner of the Vineyard asking Pardon for his Neighbour, by repreſenting that he did not take Offence at it; and that in order to keep up a

good

good Understanding, and Friendship among Neighbours, they did not take it amiss if any one's Ass happened to stray into a Neighbour's Vineyard; the wise *Deroga* upon this Representation condemned the Owner of the Vineyard to the same Fine of fifty Crowns; and then told them both, that it was to teach them how to keep what they had.

But no wonder that a Deroga of a Village should take that Liberty to oppress the People after that Manner in a Corner of a Province, when the Deroga of *Ispahan* itself, in the Capital, and under the Nose of the King, launches out into Enormities that are still more flagrant. One of the chief Functions of this Magistrate was to take care of the Security of the City, especially against Night-Robbers; in which respect this must be said in Justice to him, that he was such an Enemy to them, that, Thanks to his Care and Vigilance, there was not one who escaped him. But instead of prosecuting them when they were taken, he only obliged them to ransom themselves like Prisoners of War; and was so exceeding civil to them, that when he found any of them not in a Condition to redeem their Liberty, he had the Charity to let them out of Prison in the Night-time to commit fresh Robberies; which they did with the greater Security, because such as were supposed to be in Prison, and who actually came thither for shelter, as soon as they had

robbed, were far from being ſuſpected; ſo that by the Means of a ſecond Robbery they ſecured themſelves from the Puniſhment they had deſerved for the firſt. What I have now mentioned was publickly known to every Body at *Iſpahan*, not long before the City was beſieged.

And while I am upon the Article of this Magiſtrate, I cannot omit a ſecond Trick of his, which will appear to be as flagrant as the former. An *Armenian* going to him for Juſtice againſt a Night-Robber who broke open his Houſe, the Deroga committed the Thief to Priſon, order'd the Goods he had ſtolen to be brought home to his Houſe, and then ſaid to the injured Party, that, if he expected any Juſtice, he muſt prove the Theft to him by Evidence, and that the Goods ſo robbed did appertain to him. The *Armenian*, who was afraid of ſome foul Play from that ſtrange Judge, thought the ſhorteſt Way would be to compound with the Thief himſelf, and to engage him, on giving him up Part of the Goods which he had ſtolen, to confeſs the Theft before the Deroga. The Thief conſented to the whole, and confeſſed the Robbery in Preſence of the Judge. The *Armenian*, who thought the Affair was determined by the Confeſſion of the Delinquent, according to Law, was very far out in his Reckoning, for the Deroga turning towards him in a very cold Manner, ſaid, *What! have*

have you no better Witneſs to produce than this? A Rogue! a Thief! You would have me take his Evidence? Go, Friend, bring me Witneſſes of Credit, Witneſſes that are unexceptionable, Muſſulmen, and not Armenians, *and then I'll hear you.* Thus was Juſtice diſpenſed at *Iſpahan* in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*; and by the Manner that the chief Magiſtrate of the Capital conducted himſelf in this Reſpect under the Noſe of the King, in the Sight of his Miniſters, and to every Body's Knowledge, one may judge how it far'd in the Provinces.

One of the Diſorders that was moſt complained of, and which was not ſo tolerable becauſe it had not been ſo cuſtomary, was, I do not only ſay the Neglect of the Governors, with Reſpect to the Safety of the Roads, but alſo the partial Connivance they gave to the Highwaymen that infeſted them, and with whom they divided the Booty. There's not a Country in the World where the Roads were as ſecure as they were in *Perſia*, before the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*. They muſt thank *Schah-Abas* the Great for it, whom I am often obliged to quote, becauſe *Perſia* owes what is excellent in her civil Government to thoſe wiſe Regulations; and would not have fallen into the Deſolation ſhe labours under at this Day, if ſhe had not deviated from them.

That

THAT great Prince, who knew that Trade is the Wealth of a Kingdom; and that nothing was more effectual to bring foreign Merchants into the Country, than to ſecure them from all Manner of Inſult and Surprize in their Voyages, or Journeys, had eſtabliſhed ſo good an Order with relation to that in his Dominions, that People might travel there with as much Safety as they do at Noon-Day in the moſt civilized Towns of *Europe*. Guards were poſted at proper Diſtances upon all the great Roads for that Purpoſe, which, without being chargeable to the Government, were maintained out of very moderate Duties which they levied upon every Load, and in Proportion to the Load, that is to ſay, ſomewhat more for a Camel's Load than for that of a Horſe: Which Duty was called *Raderie*, and the Guards *Raders*. They never committed any Robberies by main Force or Violence; but when, notwithſtanding the Vigilance of the Raders, any was committed ſecretly, and by Surprize, the Governor of the Town, in whoſe Diſtrict the Robbery happened, was obliged to make good the Merchant's Loſs, at the Rate ſpecified in his Book of Accompts, including the Money he had paid, both for Purchaſe and Cuſtoms. As for the Robbers, conſidering how the *Raders*, or Patrols, were poſted, that is to ſay, in Places through which there was a Neceſſity for

for them to paſs, it was almoſt impoſſible for them to eſcape; and when they were once taken, they had no Mercy to expect. They were put to Death by very cruel Tortures, as may be ſeen in *Tavernier*, *Lib.* v. *Cap.* 13. who mentions three or four different Kinds of it, the leaſt of which ſtrikes Horror.

This Policy ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed by *Schah-Abas*, was always kept up without Intermiſſion under his Succeſſors, as we are aſſured by the ſame *Tavernier*, who travelled in *Perſia* in the Reign of *Schah-Solyman*, who was *Schah-Huſſein*'s Predeceſſor. He ſays in one Place, *Lib.* i. *Cap.* 4. that the Roads there were ſo ſecure that they had no need to rendezvous, or travel in Caravans and Companies; and, as to the Obligation the Governors of the Places were under to reimburſe the Merchants what they had been robbed of, nothing can be a better Proof that it was ſubſiſting even at that Time in its utmoſt Rigor, than a Story which *Tavernier* tells of himſelf, *Lib.* v. *Cap.* 13. concerning two Bales that he was robbed of. The Governor of the City where the Robbery was committed, paid him on the Credit of his Book and Vouchers, 1400 Piaſtres, which were his Demand, that is to ſay, above four thouſand Livres; and that with ſo good a Grace, that after he had paid him, he likewiſe made him a Preſent of Wine and Proviſions.

It was no longer ſo in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, and nothing, perhaps, is a fuller Indication to what a Degree the Government was degenerated and weaken'd under that Prince, than the Highway-Robberies, which were not only tolerated, but alſo encourag'd, and in a manner authorized. The Caravans did not dare to ſtop any longer in the Villages, but choſe rather to encamp under Tents, becauſe of the Difficulty of avoiding the Ambuſhes of the Peaſants: And they were obliged to keep conſtant Guard, and to watch every Man in their Turn. Yet, notwithſtanding all their Vigilance and Precaution, it was not poſſible totally to eſcape out of the Hands of People, who refined every Day in a Calling which was their capital Livelihood. The very Mothers encouraged their Children to it, by promiſing them a good Supper if they had the Cunning to make a good Prize. It was to no Purpoſe when any Thing was loſt to complain to the Governor of the Place: It was not now as in the Time of *Schah-Solyman*, or in the Reigns of the other Kings of *Perſia*, from *Schah-Abas* the Great, when the Governors were obliged to give an Account of the Robberies committed upon the Lands of their Juriſdiction, and to make good the Loſs. All the Anſwer that one of thoſe Governors gave to a Merchant of *Teflis*, who had been robbed of conſiderable Effects,

Effects, was this; *Shew me the Robber, and I'll oblige him to make you Reſtitution.* 'Tis true, that the Merchant's Reply to him was enough to confound him; *Put me in your Place*, ſaid he to him, *and yourſelf in mine, and I'll ſoon find you out the Robber.* But it was all one, and how ſharp ſoever the Reply was, the Governor was not offended at it; for there are no People that bear Reproaches and Injuries more patiently than thoſe of Quality in *Perſia.* If a Creditor that cannot get his Money, ſay the moſt provoking Things in the World to their Face, they take no Exceptions at it, but hear him with an Air of Indifference and Inſenſibility which is not to be parallell'd, which made Father *Joſeph Maria* ſay in his *Perſian Treaſure*, *That the Phlegm of the* Italians, *compar'd to that of the* Perſians, *is Paſſion and Fury.*

At laſt Things came to ſuch a Paſs, that the Merchants in the Caravans not being able to guard againſt the Subtlety of the Robbers, nor to obtain Juſtice of the Governors, were reduced to compound with the Highwaymen themſelves, either by making a Sort of Treaty of Inſurance with them, whereby they gave them a certain Sum, that they might not be robb'd, or by leaving them when they were robb'd in full Poſſeſſion and Property of one Half of the Robbery to ſave the other. The Highwaymen conſented to it, and more readily, becauſe they found their Account in it.

For

For as they are very eaſily detected in *Perſia*, as every Canton knows thoſe that follow this Calling, and as from Hatred or Envy they betray and diſcover one another, a Caravan was no ſooner gone by, but the Governor, who knew where to find them, arreſted them, and took away all that they had robb'd, if they did not prevent it, by carrying him his Part, which was always the beſt Share of the Booty. However, by this Conduct they ſaved themſelves from a Fine, which he would infallibly have condemned them to pay to him; for as to other Puniſhments they were out of Date, eſpecially that of Death, and thoſe ſevere Puniſhments uſed in former Reigns. Every Thing ended in pecuniary Fines, which reduced thoſe Wretches to ſuch a State of Miſery, as put them under the Neceſſity of robbing again for Subſiſtance; and indeed this was the Intention of the Governors, who were too great Gainers by their Plunder to be glad to ſee it at an End, ſo that when they condemned any Robber to a Fine, it ſeems it was not ſo much for having robb'd, as becauſe he did not do it with Cunning; from whence it happen'd, that many of thoſe Miſcreants, having nothing to depend on but the Buſineſs of Stealing, ſtudied to render themſelves expert and accompliſh'd at it, and to attain to the ſame Degree of Skill with thoſe Knaves who in *Perſia* are called *Karachyrſis*, and are of ſurprizing Dexterity and Cun-

Cunning. Thus was the Face of Affairs alter'd to ſuch a Degree, that the ſame Governors, who under the preceding Reign had been the Protectors of the Caravans, and Sureties for all that were robbed on the publick Roads, became in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, the Inſtigators and Accomplices of the Robberies then committed, inſomuch that one might juſtly have applied to them the Moral of the Fable of *Muſellim-Sade*, a famous *Perſian* Poet, where he ſays, *That a Traveller having plucked a Sheep from the Jaws of a Wolf, threw it upon his Shoulders, and carried it home; and that while the poor Beaſt was rejoycing in its happy Deliverance, the Traveller ſtuck his Knife into his Throat, which made the poor Sheep, when dying, to ſay to the Traveller, You ſaved me from the Teeth of the Wolf, 'tis true, but you are the ſame to me as a Wolf.*

While all Things ran thus to Decay, both in the Country and the Capital, *Schah-Huſſein* lay, as it were, buried in his Haram; and abandoning the reſt of his Dominions to the Diſcretion of his principal Eunuchs, he ſeem'd to have no Taſte for any other Place of Pleaſure but this, which engroſſed all his Thoughts, and the Expences of which ſwallowed up the greateſt Part of his Finances. He looked upon his Haram as his particular Kingdom, and the only one that deſerv'd his Regard. As Kings who have any Notion of Glo-

Glory have generally a Paſſion either to ſignalize themſelves by new Conqueſts, or to render themſelves formidable to their Neighbours, by numerous Armies, that are always well paid, and in good Condition, or to enrich their Dominions by a flouriſhing Commerce: So this Prince diſcovered a Paſſion to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the Number and Beauty of the Women that he kept in his Haram, by the Riches of their Habits, the Magnificence of their Furniture, by the Enquiry after and Profuſion of every Thing which could contribute to render his Stay there as delightful as poſſible; and he boaſted publickly, that he would ſpare no Coſt to out-ſtrip the moſt riotous and moſt voluptuous Kings that ever were in the World. 'Tis very certain, however, that none of his Predeceſſors came near what we have ſeen of this kind in his Reign, either for the vaſt Number of Women, with which he had filled his Haram, or for the extraordinary Luxury and Splendor in which he maintained them. His firſt Care in the Beginning of his Reign, was to cauſe a general Search to be made for all the handſome Women in *Perſia*, and to order them to be brought to his Haram. The Crop was ſo plentiful, and ſeem'd ſo freſh, that it ſerv'd to give Name to the Year (1701.) wherein it was gather'd, which after that Time was called the Year *Kyſveran*, i. e. *the Year of Women*. There is hardly a Country inhabited

by so many different Nations as *Persia*. Be a young Woman of what Nation soever, except the *Jewish*, which was excluded, if she was but handsome, she was pick'd up for the King's Haram. The Governors of the Provinces, who knew their Master's Taste, and that all the Services they were capable of doing him in the Government were nothing in his Esteem, compar'd with the Merit of enriching and adorning his Haram with some uncommon Beauty, made it their Business to look out every where, and to procure them at any Price; and when they were so happy as to be able to accompany the Tribute of the Province, which they sent every Year to *Ispahan*, with some Present of this Nature, they were persuaded that they had paid a better Compliment, and that the King was more obliged to them, than if they had sent double the Sum to what the Province used to pay. Each of those Women had her particular Eunuch and Chamber-Maid, and as to the Expence of the Toilet and Provisions, it had no Bounds from a Prince, who thought it an Honour to out-do every Thing that had been done of this Nature. Besides what he laid out upon them in the Haram, he gave them a considerable Portion when they went forth to be married. This was done sometimes, though very rarely, during the preceding Reigns; but it was very common in *Schah-Hussein*'s Time, who bestowed those Women in Mar-

riage, not only to his Courtiers, but also to the inferior Officers of his Palace, and to his very Cooks. As to the Great Men's Daughters that had been bred up in the Haram, he married them to other great Lords, not only after they had lost their Virginity, but when they were actually with Child. The worst of all for these Lords was, that whatever Children they had elsewhere, the Child that was born of this Venter became the eldest of the Family, and went away with the Bulk of their Estates. In 1719. the Governor of *Erivan* was obliged to receive on this Footing the Daughter of a Prince of *Georgia*, nam'd *Kostrou-Kan*, whom the King sent to him from his Haram, with an Heir that he did not expect. There are several considerable Families in *Persia*, which boast of such Extraction, and call themselves *Schah-Zade*, i. e. *King's Sons*, for *Za* signifies *Son*, and *Schah King*. Of this Number is the illustrious Family of the hereditary Princes of *Gengea*, descended from *Solyman*, the Predecessor of *Schah-Hussein*. But these *Schah-Zades* are so multiplied since, that their great Number has made them sink considerably in the Esteem they were held in heretofore, and before the late Revolution there were a great many of them at *Ispahan* who made a very mean Figure there.

From the great Number of Women with which *Schah-Hussein* had stored his Haram,

we

we may infer what an Attendance there must be of Eunuchs, either for their Service, or their Guard, which could not but increase in Proportion. Never King of *Persia* had so many by far, for they almost equalled the Number of his own Guards, and indeed he had no other Guard at the Times of the *Kourouk*, which I am now to give an Account of.

'Tis the Custom in *Persia*, that when the King removes from *Ispahan* along with the Ladies of his Haram, to any of his Pleasure Houses, a Proclamation is made three Days beforehand, of the Hour which he intends to go abroad in, and the Streets through which he is to pass. This Proclamation is called the *Kourouk*; and 'tis to forbid every Man from staying in the Houses that look into the Streets, through which the King is to pass, or in the Country for two Leagues round. Now as in *Persia* they have no Use either of Coaches or Waggons, because of the Multitude of little Canals which cut the Country, and are so managed as to water the Lands, all the Ladies ride upon Horses or Mules, with each their Eunuch to hold the Bridle: As to the Servant Maids, they ride upon Asses; and one of *Schah-Hussein*'s great Diversions in these *Kourouks*, was to whip those Asses till they threw their Riders, and made Sport for the others. As the Law, which banished Men from all Places through which

the King paſs'd with all this Equipage, did alſo keep off his own Guard, he could then have no other but his Eunuchs, who ſurrounded this whole Troop with Guns and Swords. Beſides them there were two other conſiderable Bodies of Eunuchs, one of which advanc'd very far before the Troop, and the other cloſed the March at the ſame Diſtance, not to mention thoſe that were employ'd, either to ſearch the Houſes by which they paſs'd, to ſee if no Man lay hid there, or to ſcour the Country, in order to put all to the Sword that they found within the Limits prohibited by the *Kourouk*. No doubt there muſt be a vaſt Number of Eunuchs to fill all thoſe different Poſts. Mean Time a great Number muſt neceſſarily remain, either for the Guard of the Womens Haram, or of that which was the Priſon to the King's Brothers and Children, who were never more narrowly watch'd than in the King's Abſence. The greater was this Number of Eunuchs, the more was the Expence; and 'tis certain, that ſeveral good Regiments might have been maintain'd with the Money that it coſt to provide for the Number of Eunuchs which *Schah-Huſſein* had more than his Predeceſſors.

No doubt it was a great Burthen to the State to maintain the Haram in the Degree it was riſen to under this Prince, who had trebled the Expence of it to what it was in the Time of his Predeceſſors; but it may be

ſaid,

ſaid, that he was yet more laviſh in other Things, in which thoſe Princes were always very moderate, and particularly in Building, in which he buried immenſe Sums, and even exhauſted the Treaſures of the Kings that had reign'd before him. Though their antient Palace was ſo ſumptuous and magnificent, that it may be look'd upon as a Monument of their Splendor, he pull'd it all down, and built a new one, with an Expence that ſhew'd he did not value what it coſt.

This Building was ſcarce compleated, but he undertook a new one yet more conſiderable at *Farabath*, one of his Pleaſure Houſes, about a League from *Iſpahan*. The Buildings which he raiſed there were ſo vaſt and magnificent, that he was tempted more than once to remove his Haram thither, and to make it his uſual Reſidence. As he had built in a Place that was extremely dry, the greateſt Expence he was at in this Undertaking was for Water, which was abſolutely wanting there, and which they were fain to bring thither from a great Diſtance by Stone Troughs, the Expences and Labour of which cannot be conceiv'd, ſays my Author, but by thoſe who have ſeen it.

The burning of the Great Royal Salon, where the King uſed to give Audience to the Ambaſſadors, and to make his publick Entertainments, was another Occaſion of Expence to *Schah-Huſſein*, which was more ne-

ceſſary indeed, but help'd towards dreining his Finances. This great Salon, nam'd *Tchehel-Setoon*, i. e. *Forty Pillars*, becauſe it actually ſtands upon ſo many Columns, is a Building that ſtands by it ſelf in the Midſt of the Gardens of the Royal Palace of *Iſpahan*. *Chardin*, who has given a very exact Repreſentation of it in the Deſcription of *Iſpahan*, ſpeaks of it as the moſt ſtately Apartment in the Palace. It happened that after one of thoſe publick Entertainments which the King ſometimes made there in the Night Time, a Fire broke out there, which though it was very violent before it was perceiv'd, Part of the coſtly Furniture of it might perhaps have been ſav'd, and Meaſures were taken for that Purpoſe, when *Schah-Huſſein*, from a Motive of Submiſſion to the Will of God, forbad the Fire to be put out, ſaying, *That as it was the Will of the Lord that his Salon ſhould be burnt, he would not oppoſe it;* and though there was nothing more rich and ſumptuous throughout the whole Palace than the Furniture of this Salon, which was on Purpoſe to diſplay the Magnificence of this Prince, he choſe from a Spirit of Reſignation to Providence, to continue at the Fire till the whole was conſumed. But his Reſignation did not hinder him from raiſing it again, and rebuilding it with more Splendor than the former.

Besides all these stately Edifices, he erected another, which may be reckoned a Monument of his Piety, as well as of his Power. It was a Monastery for *Dervishes*, the Magnificence of which may be imagined by the chief Gate of it only, which is of Massy Silver. But that which still doubled the prodigious Expence of all those great Buildings, is, that he never digested any of his Plans thoroughly, and that upon a new Thought he demolished the whole Pile to the Ground, and begun again.

It was hardly possible but all those extraordinary Expences must hurt his Finances; but his religious Zeal made him undertake an unseasonable Pilgrimage, which not only compleatly drein'd his Exchequer, but also ruin'd all the Provinces through which he pass'd. There's a famous Monastery on the Confines of *Persia*, next to *Great Tartary*, dedicated to a Santon, or Saint, of *Aly*'s *Sect*, in a little Town named *Meszat*, which is above two hundred Leagues from *Ispahan*. Thither his Devotion carried him, attended by all the Women of his Haram, and followed by a Train of 60000 Men, which was so expensive, that half the Sum that his Journey cost him, would have defray'd the Charge of all the Expeditions against the Rebels of *Candahar*, of which more hereafter.

We must do this Prince the Justice, however, to observe, that as much attach'd as he

was to his Religion, he was not opinionated, and had no more than his Predeceſſors, eſpecially ſince *Schah-Abas the Great*, any Thing of that Averſion and brutal Rage which the *Mahometans* of *Omar*'s Sect, ſuch as the *Turks* are, expreſs againſt all other Religions, and eſpecially the Chriſtian. This may partly be aſcribed to the Character of the Genius of the *Perſians*, naturally inclined to Kindneſs and Humanity, but much more to the Extraction of almoſt all the Kings of *Perſia* ſince *Schah-Abas* that reduced *Perſia*, who are deſcended from *Georgian* Princeſſes or Ladies; for as they are originally Chriſtians, they ſtill preſerve, even in the Midſt of Mahometiſm, in which they are train'd up from their Infancy, a very ſtrong Inclination for the Religion of their Anceſtors and their Country: They have alſo for the moſt Part retain'd the Cuſtom of taking their Chriſtian Names. The Grandmother of the dethron'd King was called *Mary-Begum*, i. e. *Princeſs Mary*, for in *Perſia*, as well as in the *Indies*, at the Mogul's Court, the Title of *Begum* is the peculiar Diſtinction of the Princeſſes. This Cuſtom of taking the Name of *Mary* has paſſed from the Haram to the other Ladies of *Perſia*, eſpecially at *Iſpahan*, where 'tis a very common Name. The Women being accuſtomed to the Name, they have a Sort of Veneration for the Holy Virgin from whom it comes; they

they honour her Images, receive and preſerve them with Reſpect, and *Schah-Huſſein* himſelf voluntarily admitted them, notwithſtanding the Law of *Mahomet*, which poſitively forbids it.

As in *Perſia* the King's Children are brought up under the Eyes of their Mother till ſeven Years of Age, and are permitted to ſee them now and then afterwards, no Wonder that they inſpire them with Sentiments for a Religion which indeed they ſcarce know any Thing of, but for which they always retain a Sort of Affection, as for the Religion of their Country. *Schah-Abas* II. Grandfather of the dethroned King, was ſo prepoſſeſſed in Favour of Chriſtianity, that it was diſagreeable to him to ſpeak ill of it; ſeveral incurr'd his Diſpleaſure for ſo doing, and the Diſgrace of *Athemat-Doulet*, who had govern'd during his Minority, was attributed in great Part to the invincible Averſion which that Prime Miniſter diſcover'd upon every Occaſion to our Religion. And the *Armenians* of his Time uſed to tell one another, as Sir *John Chardin* reports in his Coronation of *Solyman* p. 169. that *Schah-Abas* was more a Chriſtian than a Mahometan. I know not what Credit may be given to a Report which was current in *Perſia* at the Time he died, *viz.* that he was chriſten'd on his Death-Bed by Father *Raphael* a *Capuchin*, who being his Mathematician and Phyſician,

ſician, had free Acceſs to him. I am the more inclin'd to doubt the Truth of this Story, becauſe *Chardin*, who in the Book juſt now quoted, ſeems thoroughly inform'd of the Particulars of this Prince's Death, does not ſay one Word of this ſecret Hiſtory: But however, the Suſpicion that was commonly entertain'd of him in *Perſia*, is a very poſitive Proof of the ſhining Marks he gave of his Eſteem and Affection for Chriſtianity.

SCHACH-SOLYMAN his Son, and Father to *Schah-Huſſein*, had nothing of that ſtrong and declared Affection for the Chriſtians; and ſometimes he gave the Miſſionaries Trouble, though it was more owing to the Inſtigation of the Eunuchs, who had begun to gain Credit with him, than to his own Accord. What is certain is, that his Religion ſate very looſe about him, as he gave Reaſon to judge, by what he ſaid one Day to *Buch-Tamber*, the Ambaſſador of the *Great Sobieski*, *John* III. King of *Poland*.

NOT long after this brave Prince had drove the *Turks* from *Vienna*, it was reported in *Perſia*, that he was gone to beſiege *Conſtantinople*. Upon this *Schah-Solyman* demanded of the Ambaſſador what the King of *Poland* would do, if he took that Capital of the *Ottoman* Empire; and this Miniſter making Anſwer, that it was his Maſter's Deſign to give no Quarter to any *Mahometan*; Very well, replied *Solyman*, making the Sign

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of the Croſs, with a very gay Countenance, if the Chriſtians take *Conſtantinople*, I will turn Chriſtian as well as they; and entertaining the Ambaſſador all Night long at a Feaſt, he carous'd with him till he made himſelf drunk, with toaſting a Health to the King of *Poland*.

Schah-Hussein, though far more devout in his Religion than *Schah-Solyman* his Father, was not thoroughly convinc'd in his Mind that it was a Whit better than the Chriſtian Religion. One Day as he was ſhewing a Watch made for him by M. *Rouſſeau* of *Geneva*, his Watch-maker in Chief, to *Giewader-Baſzi*, his favourite Eunuch, *I obſerve*, ſays he to him, *that the Franks*, (the Name by which the *Europeans* are call'd in *Perſia*,) *are better Workmen than ours, I am very much afraid, that as they out-do us in Arts, they alſo excel us in Points of Religion.* He was ſo affected when he heard of our Hoſpitals, and the Care therein taken of the poor Patients, that he was reſolv'd to imitate us in that ſort of Charity. He caus'd a magnificent Hoſpital to be built at *Iſpahan*, and order'd all, even the moſt precious Remedies that could be got, to be prepared in the Royal Diſpenſatory for the Sick. But the Eaſineſs of impoſing upon a Prince incapable of perceiving it, and more incapable ſtill of reſenting it, if he had perceiv'd it, render'd his good Intentions partly of no Effect; for they who had

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the Management of the Hoſpital that he had founded, turn'd the moſt precious Remedies, which they got out of his Diſpenſatory, to their own Advantage, by ſelling to the Rich what the King had intended to be diſpens'd gratis to the Poor. He gave the latter another Mark of his good Nature, by building ſeveral Ovens, where he had Bread bak'd at his own Charge, to be diſtributed to the Poor at a moderate Price. But how laudable ſoever his Intention was in this Reſpect, he would have aſſiſted the Poor much more effectually, if he had prevented the Monopolies of the Grandees, who in order to bring their Corn to the better Market, privately hinder'd the Carriage of any from the Country to *Iſpahan*. *Schah-Solyman* his Father, who was at the like Nonplus in 1667. the Beginning of his Reign, ſoon found out a Remedy, which was more profitable to his Subjects, and not ſo burthenſome to himſelf. To redreſs this Diſorder, he was at no more Trouble than to chuſe *Ali-Kouli-Kan*, one of the chief Lords of his Court, a Man of a good Headpiece and Reſolution, into whoſe Hands he committed the whole Management of this Affair. *Ali-Kouli-Kan* being convinc'd, that a Famine in a great City does not proceed ſo much from the Scarcity of Corn, as from the Diſhoneſty and Avarice of thoſe who conceal it, or ſtop up the Canals by which it uſually comes, gave proper Orders, and caus'd them

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to be executed with ſuch Reſolution, that the very next Day after the King had nominated him, he reduc'd the Bread to a moderate Price, and entirely reſtor'd the Tranquility of *Iſpahan*, which was juſt ready to revolt. This may be ſeen more at large in Sir *John Chardin*'s Book of the Coronation of *Solyman*, p. 261. where we find, that what this Lord did at that Juncture, is worthy of the Imitation of the politeſt Towns in *Europe* on the like Occaſion; and that nothing contributed ſo much to prevent a Famine, as an illuſtrious Inſtance (mention'd in that Book p. 262.) of his Diſintereſtedneſs, and of the Severity with which he began the Exerciſe of his Employment.

When *Schah-Solyman* made Choice of this Nobleman to provide againſt the publick Neceſſities, he was but twenty Years of Age; and being but juſt come out of the Haram, where he had been always confin'd to his Coronation, he muſt be very raw, and unexperienced in the Arts of Government. But however, he was wiſe enough to chuſe a Miniſter of ſufficient Abilities to ſupply his own Deficiency, and by that Means he put a Stop to the Diſorder, in the Manner that became a King; whereas *Schah-Huſſein* his Son and Succeſſor, who was of a more advanc'd Age, and conſequently had had more Experience, when he was under the ſame Difficulty, provided no other Remedy than what might be

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expected from a generous, rich, private Man, without Authority and Character; so that as much a King as he was, he did little more, during a general Famine, than what was done all the Year long by his Grandmother, a very charitable Princess, who limited the Expences of her House-keeping, and appropriated her great Revenues to the Comfort and Nourishment of Multitudes of Poor, as well Christians as of the other Religion, and who for her immense Charities would have deserv'd to be call'd *St. Helena* among the *Persians*, if her Alms had been animated by the Spirit of the true Faith.

From all that I have hitherto related of *Schah-Hussein*, 'tis easy to infer, that as he was endow'd with some of the Qualities and Virtues which adorn a private Man, he had none of those which are necessary for a Monarch. He was good natur'd and human; but his good Nature was of that Stamp which bears with every Thing, and punishes nothing, and in which the Wicked, being assur'd by it of Impunity; find their Account more than honest Men, whom it deprives of all Hopes of Justice. He hurt no particular Person, and by that Means injur'd all Mankind. The only Instance in which he discover'd the Marks of Greatness was, his Passion for Building, and his Inclination to Magnificence, in which he took a Pride, though his Application to it did not seem to be so much

much that of a King who makes it his ſole Delight, as that of a Man who makes it his important and his only Buſineſs. He would have nothing wanting for his Buildings, whatever was wanting in his Armies; and like ſome People, who are always more forward to give Alms than to pay their Debts, he built Monaſteries and Hoſpitals, while his Troops periſh'd with Hunger, and diſpers'd, or ſuffer'd themſelves to be cut in Pieces on the Frontiers, for Want of Pay and Ammunition, being better pleaſed to have erected fine Palaces in *Iſpahan* and the Neighbourhood, than he was mov'd or afflicted to ſee whole Provinces taken away from him on all Sides.

All this might paſs for the Declamation of an Hiſtorian, if this Prince himſelf, in the moſt important Conjuncture of his Reign, had not explain'd himſelf in a Manner that proves it infinitely beyond what I have done, and which plainly ſhews how little Care he thought himſelf oblig'd to take of any Thing but his Buildings, and the Management of his Houſes, and to what a Degree he forgot he was a King. For when at the Approach of the Rebel's Army, which was advancing by great Marches towards *Iſpahan*, his Miniſters and the Grandees of his Court endeavour'd to rouze him by the Proximity of his Danger, and admoniſhing him, that it was a very ſerious Affair, not to be jeſted with;

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'Tis your Buſineſs, ſays he, *to look to that, you have Armies provided; as for my Part, if they leave me but my Houſe at* Farabath *I am content.* Theſe were the Sentiments of this poor King, who was puniſhed in the very Thing for which he ſeem'd to have any Fondneſs; for his Houſe at *Farabath*, which he had built and adorn'd with ſuch Profuſion and Magnificence, was not only the firſt that was plunder'd, but ſerv'd alſo as a Camp to the Rebels, who would never have ventur'd to undertake the Siege of *Iſpahan*, if they had not found a Place for the moſt ſafe and commodious Camp they could have deſir'd within the large Circumference of that ſtately Houſe which was encompaſſed with high and ſtrong Walls, and flank'd with Towers at convenient Diſtances.

HOWEVER, notwithſtanding the King's Indolence, notwithſtanding the Incapacity and Tyranny of the Eunuchs that govern'd him, notwithſtanding the bad State of all the Provinces, and the general Diſſatisfaction of the whole Kingdom, 'tis very probable, that *Schah-Huſſein* would have died in Peace upon his Throne, as well as many other Kings of his Character, if, unhappily for him, a private Man of a bold and enterprizing Genius had not been forc'd againſt his Will to come to Court from the remoteſt Corner of his Frontiers, and above four hundred and fifty Leagues from *Iſpahan*, who obſerving very nicely

nicely how every Thing was manag'd at Court, and how weak and confus'd were thoſe Springs of that Royal Power, the Majeſty of which had dazzled his Eyes at ſuch a Diſtance, imagined that it was not in a Condition to reduce any one to his Duty, that ſhould have the Courage to ſhake off the Yoke. Upon this he form'd his Plan, and after having executed it by freeing his Country from the Tyranny of the *Perſians*, againſt whom he always made Head as long as he liv'd, and whom he routed as often as they came to attack him, he left a Son, who being bolder than himſelf, preſumed to undertake to dethrone his Sovereign, and accordingly carried his Point, to the great Aſtoniſhment both of *Aſia* and *Europe*. This I ſhall give an Account of after I have in a few Words treated of the Origin and Character of the Nation to whom this great Event is owing.

The Nation of the *AGHVANS*, hitherto unknown in *Europe*, and ſcarce known in *Aſia*, where it lies in a Corner, has render'd it ſelf ſo famous by the Conqueſt it has lately made of *Perſia*, one of the greateſt Kingdoms in the World, that there's no Body living, but will be very glad to have ſome Account of a People, who have begun to ſhew themſelves to the World by ſo ſignal a Blow.

The *Aghvans*, who were originally of the Province of *Szyrvan*, which was antient-

ly call'd *Great Albania*, and which is situate between the *Caspian Sea* and Mount *Caucasus*, were formerly subdued by *Tamerlane*, who could not reduce them till after many Battles, wherein he cut a great Part of them to Pieces. But as this unmanageable People, not used to bear the Yoke, were continually revolting, and took Arms again upon the first Occasion that offer'd, he thought he could not make sure of them, but by transplanting them to another Soil, being persuaded, that when they were once out of the Sight of their own Country, they would at the same Time lose that Love of Liberty and Independence which had engag'd them in so many Rebellions, and which had given him so much Trouble and Fatigue; and in order to keep them under the stricter Subjection, he plac'd them between *Persia* and the *Indies*, upon the Confines of each of those two Empires, which he had equally reduc'd to his Obedience. 'Tis said, that they were antiently Christians, of the *Armenian* Sect, but that they turn'd Mahometans for Want of the Assistance and Instructions of their Priests and Doctors, whom *Tamerlane* took away from them, that they might sooner embrace that Religion. As to their Name, that alone seems to justify what is said of their Origin, with respect to *Albania*; for as in the *Armenian* Tongue our Letter *L* is chang'd into *GH*, and our *B* into

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V Conſonant, ſo of the Word *Albans* is formed *Aghvans*.

The capital City of the Country to which *Tamerlane* tranſplanted them, when he took them from *Albania*, is call'd *Candahar*, a Town which borders on *Perſia* to the Eaſt, as it does on the Dominions of the Mogul to the Weſt. It had Princes of its own for a Time, who ſubſiſted on the mutual Jealouſy of the two Powers, between which it was ſituate. But at laſt *Schah-Abas the Great*, who made as many Conqueſts by his Policy as his Arms, found a fair Opportunity to engage the Prince, who was Maſter of it in his Time, to put himſelf under his Protection; which he did accordingly, on Condition, that a Prince of his Race ſhould always command in *Candahar*, as Vaſſal and Tributary to the King of *Perſia*. This *Tavernier* alſo mentions in his Voyages, *Lib.* v. *cap.* 23.

Schah-Abas, who, according to the true Maxim of all Politicians, was a punctual Obſerver of his Word, with regard to the Treaties that he had made, even with his Vaſſals, not only ſecur'd the Poſſeſſion of *Candahar* to the Prince who ſubmitted, but alſo continued the Government of it to his Son *Alimerdan-Kan* after the Death of his Father. *Schah-Sefi*, Grandſon to *Schah-Abas*, ſucceeding his Grandfather, the Court of *Perſia* chang'd their Maxims. As *Alimerdan-Kan* was poſſeſſed of great Wealth, which he had

for moſt Part by Inheritance from his Anceſtors; and as he cut the Figure of a potent Sovereign in his Government, rather than that of a Vaſſal, always eating out of Gold Plate, and keeping a Houſe almoſt as magnificent as the King's; the Miniſters, who govern'd during *Schah-Seſi*'s Non-age, and who by inſpiring him with violent Suſpicions of ſeveral of the greateſt Noblemen, had perſuaded him to put ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them to Death, did not fail to raiſe the ſame Jealouſy in his Breaſt againſt the Prince of *Candahar*, whoſe Wealth, of which they hoped to be Sharers, tempted them more than the Poſſeſſions of the others, whom they had cauſed to be put to Death. The Difficulty was to get him to Court; for the Misfortune of thoſe who, after being drawn thither in that Manner, left their Heads there, made him very loth to go; and as he ſaw that, without Regard to his Remonſtrances, Couriers were ſent to him one upon the Neck of another, with preſſing Orders to repair to *Iſpahan*, he did not doubt but his Life was aim'd at, and in order to provide himſelf an Aſylum againſt the Miniſters of the Court of *Perſia*, he ſurrender'd *Candahar* to the great Mogul. But he would receive nothing from that Prince, and contented himſelf with the Honour which he did him to give him the firſt Poſt of the Kingdom, which he kept Poſſeſſion of to his Death. When he retired to the Mogul's Court, he car-

carried ſuch a Maſs of Treaſure with him, that without taking any Thing from that Prince, he liv'd at his Court with greater Splendour than any Body. He cauſed a very fine Houſe to be built at *Jehanabad*, with a very fine Garden by the Waterſide, which, according to the Report of *Tavernier*, who knew the *Indies* well enough to be depended upon, is the moſt ſtately Edifice in the Mogul's Dominions. That Prince was ſurprized how *Alimerdan-Kan*, without having any Salary from him, could live with ſo much Magnificence as he did; but one Day as he went to ſee him with the Princeſſes, in that little Pleaſure-Houſe juſt now mention'd, that Nobleman's Lady open'd ſeveral Coffers full of Gold before thoſe Princeſſes, and while they were viewing them ſaid, *That his Majeſty need not be ſurprized if her Husband took nothing from him, becauſe they ſaw he had enough for him and his Children to live upon.*

He had two Children at the Court of *Perſia*, when he deliver'd up *Candahar* to the great Mogul; and perhaps he had not been ſo much preſs'd as he was, if it had not been preſum'd, that his Regard for his Children, who remain'd as Hoſtages at *Iſpahan*, would hinder him from carrying Matters to an Extremity; but having before his Eyes the Example of *Iman-Kouli-Kan*, another Governor of the Province, yet more powerful than he,

who was only brought to Court with his Children to be put to Death there all together, he imagin'd that inſtead of ſaving the Lives of his two Sons, by repairing to Court, he ſhould only haſten their Death with his own; and choſe to take Refuge with the great Mogul, by delivering up *Candahar* to him, happen what would, whereby he ſecur'd his own Life, as well as the Lives of his Children; for whereas they would undoubtedly have been put to Death with him, if he had gone to *Iſpahan*, the Fear of exaſperating the Inhabitants of the Province of *Candahar*, and of rendering them irreconcileable, by putting to Death the two young Lords, who were deſcended from their Sovereign Princes, oblig'd the Court of *Perſia*, which hop'd one Day or other to recover *Candahar*, not only to keep fair with them, but alſo to treat them with more Diſtinction than ever; ſo that they met with as much Favour from the King of *Perſia*'s Court, as their Father receiv'd at the Court of the Mogul.

This Policy of *Schah-Sefi* had its Effect under his Son and Succeſſor *Schah-Abas* II. For when that Prince went in the Beginning of his Reign to beſiege *Candahar*, the *Perſians* who were in the Army that the Mogul ſent to its Relief, and which compoſed the greateſt Part of it, remember'd the kind Treatment which the Court of *Perſia* had ſhewn to the Children of *Alimerdan-Kan*, and did not do

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every Thing that they might have done to hinder *Schah-Abas* II. from making himſelf Maſter of it, and re-entering it, which he did in 1650. Since that Time it has always remain'd in the Hands of the *Perſians*, notwithſtanding all the Attempts which were afterwards made by the great Mogul *Cha-Gean* to recover it. He cauſed it to be beſieg'd in vain three ſeveral Times by two of his Sons, Sultan *Dera* and Sultan *Sujat*, whom he ſent thither one after another, each at the Head of an Army of 300000 Men; and when for Vexation that he had miſcarried, he asked *Alimerdan-Kan* if he did not know a Way to put him again in Poſſeſſion of *Candahar*, that Nobleman generouſly replied, *That he knew no other Way but to find out a ſecond Traytor that would betray it as he had done.*

When *Schah-Solyman*, Son to *Schah-Abas* II. ſucceeded his Father in the Throne, *Aurengzeb* then Emperor of *Mogul*, who had carried all his Points, and was uneaſy to let *Candahar* remain longer in the Power of his Enemies, thought that the Diſorder in the Affairs of the Court of *Perſia*, and the Weakneſs of the Government, under a young unexperienced King, gave him a fair Opportunity to undertake the Conqueſt of that Place with Succeſs. He was ſtrongly tempted to it, and would have certainly gone thither, if he had not been diverted by the wiſe Counſels of the Princeſs his Siſter, who repreſent-

ed to him, that it would expose the Glory he had acquir'd till then; that the taking of *Candahar* was not an easy Matter; that the Armies which *Cha-Gehan* their Father had sent thither had miscarried; that as his own only consisted in a great Measure of *Persians*, who serv'd him not without Reluctance, and gave him but lazy Assistance in that Expedition, he ought to expect the same Fate; that if he did not come off with Honour, it would be an indelible Stain to his Reputation; that, in short, he had not a great deal to gain if he succeeded, but that if he miscarried, his Loss would be infinite. *Aurengzeb* complied with these Arguments; and though whenever he sent Ambassadors afterwards to the Court of *Persia*, the first Article of their Instruction was always to demand the Restitution of *Candahar*, it was only look'd upon as a Matter of Form, and did not hinder the two Kings from living amicably, when they had nothing to skuffle for elsewhere.

Thus the City of *Candahar* remain'd to *Persia*. It was a Place of the more Importance to this Kingdom, because it cover'd the Frontiers towards the *Indies*; and there was none so strong in all *Persia*, it having been fortified by *European* Ingineers, whom *Cha-Gehan* the great Mogul employed there, while he was Master of it. As 'tis the great Thorow-Fare of the Caravans that go from *Persia* to the *Indies*, or that return thither from

from thence, it has enrich'd it ſelf by the Stay which the Caravans make there, and which the Governors had the Art of protracting. One may form a Judgment of its Wealth, by the Tribute it paid to the King, which was twelve Pound Weight of Gold for every Day in the Year, excluſive of many other Duties, Fines, and Forfeitures. It lies in the ſame Latitude as *Iſpahan*, at the Diſtance of three hundred and fifty *Perſian* Leagues, which according to Sir *John Chardin*'s Calculation in his Coronation of *Solyman*, make above four hundred and fifty *French* Leagues. As it was from this City that terrible Blow came which has ruin'd a Monarchy ſo powerful as that of *Perſia*, I thought my ſelf oblig'd to omit nothing that might contribute to give a perfect Knowledge of it. *Tavernier* has left us a Draught of it in the Fifth Book of his Voyages to *Perſia*.

THIS City therefore is the Capital of the Province where the *Aghvans* were diſpers'd, living for the moſt Part under Tents, like the *Tartars*, being inur'd to Heat and Cold, and all the Inclemencies of the Seaſons. With them the Maſters, Slaves, Horſes, and Cattle lay confuſedly under one and the ſame Tent; and this People is ſo accuſtomed to Ordure and Naſtineſs, that if a Horſe drops down dead by their Side, there they let him lie and rot, without being offended at the Stench,

Stench, or taking any more Notice of it, than if they had not the Senſe of Smelling.

They live upon very little, as moſt of the Eaſtern Nations do, and put up with what they find, be it good or bad. In the March which they made through the Deſerts, that they were oblig'd to paſs over to *Iſpahan*, they had no other Nouriſhment than parch'd Wheat, and their very General, the Uſurper *Maghmud*, was in this reſpect on the ſame Footing as the meaneſt of his Soldiers. When they had made themſelves Maſters of *Zulfa*, a Town inhabited by the *Armenians*, a good Quarter of a League from *Iſpahan*, they found Soap there, which they took and eat like Sugar, having never ſeen any before. For they have no Soap nor Lye, but Kennel Dirt or Mud, into which they put their Linnen, and there knead it with their Feet, after which they waſh it in cold Water. They eat raw Cabbages, as alſo Lettices, and other Sallad Herbs.

Nazir-Ulla, one of the chief Captains of the Army, being at the Houſe of an *Armenian* Merchant at *Zulfa*, the latter preſented him with a great Veſſel, in which were ſeveral Pound Weight of Cloves, deſiring him to taſte them. *Nazir-Ulla* eat up all without any Ceremony, and though there were enough to have killed a Horſe, he was not ſo much as incommoded by them. They have no other Table but the Ground, nor no Cloth,

Cloth, but their Bread, which they bake in Pans in the Form of Pancakes. They eat their Meat half dreſs'd, after having laid it over the Flames, or upon Live-Coals. In their greateſt Entertainments they have nothing more, and their only Drink is Water, there being ſcarce any Nation perhaps that is more averſe to Wine.

THEIR Way of dreſſing anſwers to the Coarſeneſs of their Diet. They wear a Veſt, which hangs down to their Toes, and which they tuck up towards the Waſte, under which they have a very wide Pair of Drawers of plain Linnen, but their Legs are always bare. The better Sort make uſe of Shoes or Slippers when they ride on Horſeback, as alſo of a Sort of Boots of very hard Leather, which when they have fitted on, they never pull off, but there let 'em remain till they rot away. 'Tis true, that ſince they have made themſelves Maſters of *Perſia*, they have begun to wear the *Perſian* Habit, at leaſt in Part, that is to ſay, they have taken the Veſt which reaches no lower than the Knees. As to the reſt of their Habit, they have not yet made any Alteration in it, which bears ſuch a mix'd Aſpect of Magnificence and Beggary, as is ſomewhat ridiculous. For 'tis a ſtrange Medley, to ſee under a Veſt of Gold Stuff, a wide Pair of Drawers of coarſe Linen, and under theſe a Pair of Stockings that is yet coarſer; for that is the Dreſs of the chief Men of their Na-

Nation now at *Ispahan*. With these Vests of Gold or Brocade, they make no Scruple to sit down upon the bare Ground, with their Legs extended, not caring how they bedaggle them with Dirt. The only Thing they are neat in is, a long and broad Piece of coarse Linen, which they wear about their Neck, from whence it hangs down before them like a Slabbering Bib, and which they make use of to defend themselves from the Injuries of the Air, and especially to cover their Arms when it rains. As to their Heads, which are shav'd, except a little Tuft of Hair which they leave at the Side of each Ear, they have nothing to cover them but a sort of Scarf, which they fold several Times round, and one End falls down upon the Shoulder, while the other stands up in Form of a Crest upon the Head, which in the Manner they order it, looks very noble. Their Santons, who are, as it were, their Fryars or Priests, are the only People that do not cut their Hair, nor on the other Hand, do they ever comb it. Their Complexion is not altogether black, but swarthy, very brown, and inclining to black. They are very ill shaped, but of a nervous and robust Constitution, of infinite Skill and Agility on Horseback; so that if they let any Thing fall to the Ground, they easily take it up, without alighting from their Horses.

As to their Women, they go bare-fac'd, contrary to the Custom of almost all the East. They

They wear Ear-Pendants, either of Glaſs, or ſuch other Matter, which hang down to the Waiſte. They have their Heads ſhav'd as well as the Men, but then they wear Horſe-Tails round their Heads, which hang down backwards to the Ground. They alſo make uſe of Linen Drawers and Buskins, and cover their Bodies with a long Robe, which they tie with a Girdle under their Breaſts.

But to come now to what is more the Buſineſs of this Hiſtory, in the Character of this Nation, that is to ſay, in Affairs Military, it muſt be own'd, that there is not perhaps a People in the World that has ſo much Inclination to War, and that is better form'd and train'd up to it, their whole Lives being ſpent almoſt in one continued Robbery, after the Manner of the *Tartars*, and in making Excurſions among their Neighbours for Plunder.

As to their Manner of Fighting in a regular Battle, they fall on thus: They place at firſt in the Front of their Army, in the Nature of their forlorn Hope, the beſt Troops they have, which they call *Naſackci* and *Rechluvan*, i. e. *Butchers* and *Wreſtlers*. Theſe make the Onſet, and fall impetuouſly upon the Enemy, without obſerving Order or Rank in their Attack, but puſhing forward, in order to open a Way for the reſt of the Army, which after this firſt Shock, finds much leſs Reſiſtance. But when they are warmly

warmly engaged, those *Nasackci* retire in Flank to the Rear of the Army, where they form a Rear Guard, which is only to force those whom they have engaged with the Enemy to fight, and to hinder any Body from falling back. When they perceive one running away, they fall upon him, and force him to return to his Post with such heavy Blows, that if he does not make haste, they kill him. We may judge of their Resolution and Severity, by a Passage that happen'd at the Attack of the Bridge of *Abusatbah*. As a Soldier who was wounded there in his Right Arm only retir'd to have his Wound dress'd, a *Nasackci* came to him, and drove him back to his Ranks, bidding him fight with his Left Hand, if he could not with his Right; and adding by Way of Banter, that if he should also lose his Left Arm, he must bite the Enemy with his Teeth. By this Disposition of the Order of Battle, an Army was inclos'd, as it were, between two Fires, that of the Enemy in Front, and that of the Rear Guard on their Backs, which quite cut off their Retreat, so that they were under an indispensable Necessity, either to conquer or die. These same *Nasackci* are the Persons whose Business it is to carry off the Bodies of those who are kill'd in the Battle; but as to the Bodies of those who are slain in the Flight, no Care is taken of them. Besides the Sword and the Pike, which they manage very well, they

they have alſo Piſtols, which begin to be very common amongſt them. Before they had conquer'd *Perſia*, they were half naked, and had no other defenſive Weapons but a Buckler or Cuiraſs of very hard Leather doubled. But now they make uſe of fine Cuiraſſes of Iron, which they found among the Spoils of their vanquiſh'd Enemy. But as brave and reſolute as they are in the open Field and in Battles, they are altogether as lazy and cowardly in Sieges, which they know nothing of. So that there are ſtill ſome ſmall Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Iſpahan*, of which they could never yet make themſelves Maſters; and if they have reduc'd all the reſt, it was only by Stratagem, or by cutting off the Canals, or by Famine, and not by Force.

But one Thing which contributes as much to the Succeſs of their Undertakings, is the exact Diſcipline of their Troops. Perhaps there are no Corps where the Leaders have more Authority, and are better obey'd. Though diſpers'd in the ſeveral Quarters of *Iſpahan*, the Signal is no ſooner given, but they repair in an Inſtant to their Colours; and the Moment they took Poſſeſſion of *Iſpahan*, the Townſmen were ſo ſafe and ſecure, that they might carry their Money in their Hands, or upon their Heads, without fear of any Violence from the Soldiers. In the Tumult which happen'd when the Sultan *Aſzraff*, who now reigns, was plac'd upon the

the Throne in *Maghmud*'s ſtead, and during which the *Aghvans* fought with one another, all the People of *Iſpahan* ſhut their Shops, and kept cloſe within Doors; but, as ſoon as the Riot was ſuppreſſed, the new Sultan ſent Orders the very ſame Day to open the Shops on Payment of a great Fine, which was done immediately without any Prejudice to the pooreſt Burgher.

THEIR Treatment of thoſe who become their Priſoners by the Laws of War, has nothing in it of the Barbarity we find among moſt of the other eaſtern Nations. They look upon the ſelling of them into Slavery to be a heinous Inhumanity, which they hold in Abhorrence. 'Tis true, indeed, that they keep them at Home as Slaves, and make them do the Drudgery; but, beſides that, in the Time even of their Slavery, they treat them with Kindneſs and Care; they never fail, if they do but pleaſe them, to reſtore them to Liberty at the End of a certain Term; in which Reſpect they differ as widely from the other *Aſiaticks*, as they do in Good-Manners. For they can't be reproached with any of thoſe incontinent and diſſolute Extravagancies, ſo frequent among their Neighbours; and if any of them are faulty in this Kind, at leaſt it does not break out, and they conceal it to themſelves as a Vice which is neither common nor authorized in their Country.

THIS

THIS is the Character of the Nation of the *Aghvans*, who have lately conquered *Perſia*, and probably would never have thought of a Deſign of ſuch Importance, if they had not had a Man among them of a Genius above his Countrymen ; and who at ſuch a Diſtance, diſpoſed Matters ſo well, that he left his Son in a Condition to finiſh what he had but juſt drawn a Sketch of, and what he would never perhaps have ventured to puſh ſo far.

THE Perſon I mean is the famous *Myrr-Weis*, Father to *Myrr-Maghmud*, who dethron'd *Schah-Huſſein* King of *Perſia*, and Uncle by the Father's Side to *Myrr-Aſzraff*, who ſucceeded *Maghmud*, and reigns at this Day. The Author of the Account inſerted in the *Mercury* for *November* 1726. was miſinformed, when he repreſented him as a Man born of the Dregs of the People. The Figure he made at *Candahar* twenty-five Years ago, and the Title of *Myrr*, or *Lord*, which he then was called by, plainly ſhews that he was no mean Man ; and certainly, if he had been of as baſe Extraction as the Author of that Relation ſays, either he would not have been in a Condition to give that Umbrage he did to the Governor of *Candahar*, or the latter would not have carried it ſo fair to him as he did, amidſt the Suſpicions he had of his Conduct.

THIS Governor of *Candahar*, who was the firſt Man that took Umbrage at the Conduct

of *Myrr-Weis* was *Georgi-Kan*, Prince of *Georgia*. This Prince after having governed *Georgia* ſome Time in Quality of the Kan, or Governor, nominated by the King of *Perſia*, who, according to antient Capitulations made with the great *Schah-Abas*, cannot place any Governor in *Georgia*, but a Prince of this Family, was weary of this Dependance, and took Advantage of the Weakneſs of the *Perſian* Court, to free himſelf from the Yoak, and to reſume all the Rights of Sovereignty which his Anceſtors had enjoy'd. He was a great Captain, and the Army that was ſent againſt him, as ſoon as they were informed of his Revolt, could not have brought him to Reaſon, if they had only attacked him with open Force; but the Money that was ſlipped into the Hands of the chief Lords of the Country, who are diſtinguiſhed by the Title of *Eriſtaw*, did what the Forces of *Perſia* could never have done. All thoſe Grandees retir'd with their Troops, and the Prince finding himſelf abandon'd, had no other Courſe to take but to fly till he could negotiate his Return, and make his Peace. This he did with the more Eaſe, becauſe he was aſſiſted with the Credit of his Brother, who was at Court, where he officiated as Divan-Beg, or Chief-Juſticiary, which is one of the firſt Offices in the Kingdom. By his Means, therefore, he obtain'd a Pardon for his Rebellion, and was re-eſtabliſhed in his Government. But as his paſt

Conduct

Conduct render'd him ſtill ſuſpected at Court, they took hold of an Opportunity which offer'd to remove him from *Georgia*, by giving him an honourable Commiſſion to the other End of the Kingdom. This Occaſion was owing to an Embaſſy from the Great Mogul.

THIS powerful Prince, who for above fifty Years, that he had loſt *Candahar*, made no other Uſe of his Pretenſions upon that City, but to trump them up whenever he had a Mind to make the Kings of *Perſia* uneaſy, ſent a great and ſtately Embaſſy to *Schah-Huſſein*, in the Beginning of his Reign, to demand that Place of him. The Court of *Perſia*, who took it for a Menace of War, reſolved to fortify themſelves on the Frontier towards Mogul, and choſe the ſame *Georgi-Kan* to command there, that was lately re-eſtabliſhed in *Georgia*. No Body was more capable than he to ſecure the Frontier againſt the Enterprizes of the Mogul; and beſides, his Capacity and Valour, which kept the Court in continual Uneaſineſs while he commanded in *Georgia*, might be employ'd without any Hazard at the other End of the Kingdom. He received Orders therefore, to ſet out with his Troops, and to repair to *Candahar*, to command in that Province, and to watch the Motions of the Mogul; and, in the mean Time, *Koſtrou-Kan*, his Nephew, was nominated to be his Lieu-

tenant in *Georgia*, and to govern it in his Name.

GEORGI-KAN behav'd in this new Government to the entire Satisfaction of the Court, whose Intensions he pursued there to a Tittle. For as they were not for a War; and as they sent him to *Candahar* not so much to make War, as to deprive the Mogul of all Pretence and Temptation to it, he took care, on the one Hand, to establish so good a Regulation in the Heart of the Province, that the Mogul could not hope to surprize it; and, on the other Hand, to keep the restless *Aghvans* he had under his Command within Bounds, and to hinder them especially from making those Incursions, which they often took the Liberty to make upon the Lands of the Mogul, and which that Prince might have alledged as a sufficient Provocation to send an Army against the Province. Such wise Conduct which hinder'd any rising at Home or Abroad, reconcil'd him totally to the Court. But the Thing that compleatly cancelled all old Suspicions, and also gain'd him a Share of Confidence, was the Intelligence he gave with respect to *Myrr-Weis*; and which could only proceed from a Minister as zealous for the Interest of the State, as he was able and clear-sighted to discover every Thing that could affect it.

As the City of *Candahar*, which serves for a Rampart to the whole Province, is the strongest

ſtrongeſt place in *Perſia*, *Georgi-Kan* ſaw preſently that that Province had nothing to fear from the Mogul, as long as all was quiet at home. This made him chiefly turn his Eye to the People that inhabited it, in order to ſtudy their Character and Humour. He perceived that they were a reſtleſs turbulent People, naturally Warlike, never pleaſed, but when they were making Excurſions upon their Neighbours; and ſo brave and reſolute, that they only wanted a Leader to become as formidable to their Sovereign, when they knew their own Strength, as they were to the Frontiers of their Province. *Myrr-Weis* ſeemed to him a very fit Perſon to act this Part. He was in one of the chief Stations at *Candahar*, where he exerciſed the Office of *Chielentar*, or Intendant for raiſing the Tribute paid to the King; and he managed this Employment with a Generoſity, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Kindneſs, which won him the Hearts of the People. He was exceeding rich, and made a very proper Uſe of his Wealth to oblige all Mankind, and to procure himſelf Friends and Creatures. His Liberality was the more dangerous, becauſe it was accompanied with that gracious popular Air, as never fails to make an Impreſſion on the Vulgar, who are generally deceived by it; and by whom he was, therefore, beloved even to Adoration.

THE Prince *Georgi-Kan*, no ſooner perceived what he was driving at, but he took Umbrage; and, after having informed the Court of his Suſpicions, he thought he could do nothing of more Importance for the Security of the Province, than to remove him from it, by ſending him to *Iſpahan*. In *Turky* they would not have uſed that Ceremony; and a poſitive Order to ſend the Head of *Myrr-Weis*, would have made both the Governor and the Court eaſy, as to him: [illegible] is, [illegible] Mea-ſures. The Gover[illegible]nted himſelf with ſending him [illegible] indeed as a Priſoner, but cauſed to [illegible]e to be kept over him, that he could not [illegible]ſcape. At the ſame Time he ſent Word to [illegible]e King, that if he had a Mind to ſecure that Province, he ſhould take care not to ſuffer *Myrr-Weis* ever to return to *Candahar*.

THIS Proceeding of *Georgi-Kan* was a Piece of great Policy, as the Event fully proved; and *Schah-Huſſein* would have been ſtill upon the Throne, if he had not deviated from the Advice which this wiſe Governor gave him; but *Myrr-Weis* by his Inſinuations, ſoon rendered the Governor's Precaution and Counſel of no Effect. As he arrived at Court with the Character of a dangerous and ſuſpicious Perſon, his firſt Appearance

pearance there was in the Nature of a *Gioz-Tutzack*, or one that is always narrowly watched. But as ſoon as he had Time to look about him, and to view the Ground, what with his ſupple and pliant Temper, his flattering and engaging Behaviour, and the Splendor he lived in, which always gives a Man Credit in Courts, he found Means by his Friends to remove the Prejudices which the Governor of *Candahar* had raiſed againſt him; and though, partly out of Regard to *Georgi-Kan*, they were not willing to ſend him Home again, yet he was no longer watched at Court as a ſuſpicious Perſon, but ſtood on the ſame Terms there with the other Courtiers, and even thoſe who were moſt welcome there.

The Expence he put himſelf to there, which the great Riches he was Maſter of enabled him to ſupport, had put him on a Footing which gave him Acceſs to the greateſt Perſons at *Iſpahan*. There was not a Houſe of any Miniſter, or Lord of the firſt Rank, where he was not heartily welcome; ſo that any other Perſon in his Place that had only aim'd to be diſtinguiſhed at Court, would have been highly pleaſed with his Deſtiny. But *Myrr-Weis*, who had Views much more exalted, only conſidered ſuch Regard at Court, as a proper Means to facilitate his Return to his own Country. This he labour'd by Degrees; and in the mean Time, that he might be a Gainer by the Force which

was put upon him to ſtay at *Iſpahan*, and by that ſort of Baniſhment, which he was kept in at Court, he applied himſelf to get a thorough Knowledge of it, and ſtudied how to make a profitable Uſe of his Diſcoveries.

The Oppoſition and Antipathy of the two Factions into which the Court was divided, could not long eſcape the Penetration of a Man ſo quick-ſighted and cunning as he was. He no ſooner perceived it, but he reſolved to make a third Party, by inſinuating himſelf into the other two; and he concerted his Meaſures ſo well, and ſo artfully covered his Deſign that he was never ſuſpected by either. When he was in Company with Perſons of the ſame Faction as the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, he thought no Encomiums too great to beſtow upon him. *According to them*, 'He "was a Prince of the higheſt Merit, one of the "King's moſt faithful Servants, and one of "the moſt zealous Men for the publick Tran-"quility. Never did any Governor diſcover "ſo much Fore-ſight, Attention, or Integrity. "In ſhort, he was a Man born for the pub-"lick Good; and the very Terror of his Name "only, with the Character he had for his Ca-"pacity and Valour, had kept the Great Mo-"gul in Reſpect, and hindered him from ma-"king a Diſturbance.' He ſaid all this with an Air ſo natural and ſo perſwaſive, that the Divan *Beg*, *Georgi-Kan*'s Brother, thought it all ſincere, and could not help chiding his

Brother

Brother in his Letters, for having ill-treated, and raiſed a Suſpicion of the Man that was the moſt devoted to him of all the World; that ſpoke of him in the handſomeſt Terms; and that was no leſs than his Panegyriſt at Court.

But when he happened to be with thoſe of the contrary Faction, with whom he thought he might talk very freely concerning this Prince, his Language was the very reverſe. "Then he was a Man canker'd with Ambi-"tion, and in ſome Contrivance againſt the "Government. He had only removed him "from *Candahar*, *ſaid he*, becauſe he thought "he looked over his Shoulders, and ſaw too "far into his Deſigns, and becauſe he was too "zealous a Servant, to his Liking, for the "King's Intereſts, and too well inclined to "maintain his Countrymen in their Obedi-"ence. Then he complained of the Diſor-"ders committed by the *Georgian* Troops, "which this Prince had brought with him, and "which, *ſays he*, ſerve only to oppreſs the "Province. Why ſhould the Kingdom be "put to the Expence of maintaining an Ar-"my, which has the Stain of a late Rebel-"lion freſh upon it, and which perhaps is bat-"tening at *Candahar*, only to begin a new one? "If there was an abſolute Neceſſity for keep-"ing up an Army in that Province, it were "much better that they ſhould be Troops "and Generals of the *Perſian* Nation, who

'might

'might be Gainers by the Abundance of a 'Country ſo likely to enrich them.' And upon this Topick he warmly preſs'd them, one after another, to have an Eye to this Government, by telling them how eaſily they might make their Fortunes there, without any Noiſe, and offering them his hearty Services to that End. He back'd theſe Diſcourſes, which he took care to time well, with Preſents of that kind, which are welcome from a fine Gentleman, and which one would think might be given and received without any Conſequence, though generally they touch to the Quick. Thoſe were fine *India* Calicoes, which are very much coveted in *Perſia*, and eſpecially certain Woollen Stuffs, which are more valued there than Cloth of Gold. Having much Wealth at his Command, he ſpared no Coſt to get what was the niceſt, moſt exquiſite and beſt wrought of the Kind, and beſtowed them ſo happily among the chief Men of the two Factions at Court, that he acquired an equal Intereſt with both. It was by theſe artful Methods, this ſubtle Management that he abſolutely demoliſhed all Prejudices that had been raiſed againſt him; and that from a Man who was ſuſpected, and, as it were, a Priſoner of State when he came to Court, he came to be diſtinguiſhed there as a Confident, and to have a great Share in the King's Favour, to whom he was as acceptable as the moſt favoured of his Courtiers.

As

As ſoon as *Myrr-Weis* found himſelf in this Situation at the Court of *Iſpahan*, he thought that nothing could contribute more to confirm the good Opinion there entertain'd of him, than ſome popular Act of Goodneſs, which might give him an Air of Devotion, and make him eſteem'd as a Man zealous for his Religion and Salvation. A Pilgrimage to *Mecca* was very proper to produce that Effect, and to conceal ſtill greater Deſigns, which we ſhall lay open hereafter.

This Pilgrimage is an Article which is as much recommended as any in *Mahomet*'s Law. 'Tis even a Command obliging upon ſuch as have Abilities to do it, and are not hinder'd from it by ſuch great Offices, and conſiderable Employments, as do not admit of their Abſence. As *Mahomet* is equally reputed both among the *Perſians* and the *Turks* for the true Meſſiah, and as their Difference is only about the Succeſſor of this falſe Prophet, the Precept enjoining the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* concerns them all alike: But this Devotion is not near ſo much in Vogue in *Perſia*, as it is in *Turky*, and the reſt of the Mahometan World; eſpecially ſince the Reign of *Schah-Abas* the Great, who left no Methods untried to run it down, and to divert his Subjects from it.

This Prince, whoſe Attention nothing that could in the leaſt affect his Dominions eſcaped, perceived that Pilgrimages of this Nature

ture to *Mecca* and *Medina*, always carried a great Quantity of Gold out of his Kingdom, becauſe the Pilgrims took no Coin with them but Gold Ducats, as well to pay the Tributes demanded by the *Turks* and *Arabs* through whoſe Lands they were obliged to paſs, as to defray the other Expences of the Journey. In Order to remedy this Miſchief, he deſign'd not to cut off thoſe Pilgrimages, which would only have ſerved to frighten the Populace, who are always fondly ſuperſtitious, but to change the Time of making them, and to turn the Devotion of his People towards another Object, which did not oblige them to quit his Dominions. For this End he made Choice of a Place called *Meſzat*, which *Tavernier* calls *Meched*, and *Chardin*, *Metched*, in the Province of *Coraſſan*, and built there in Honour of one of their *Imans*, which they have in great Veneration, a ſtately Moſque, which was called *Iman-Reza*, after the Name of that *Iman*. As he knew the Devotion of the People is eaſily led away by external Decoration, and the Magnificence of Ornaments, he ſpared no Expence in this Reſpect, even ſo far as to cover the Dome with Plates of Gold. At the ſame Time he annexed great Revenues to it, for the Maintenance of the Prieſts that were to officiate there: And becauſe nothing makes ſo much Impreſſion upon the Subjects, as the Example of the Prince, he

was

was resolved himself to make this Pilgrimage in Person, attended by his whole Court, and with all the Pomp that used to accompany Royal Majesty. The Courtiers being sensible that they could not make their Court to him better than by crying up this new Altar, which he had lately set up in Opposition to that of *Mecca*, did not fail, when they came back, to make a great Noise of the pretended Miracles of *Iman-Reza*, which, though discredited by People of Sense, were so strongly believed by the Vulgar, who took them for real, that they addressed all their Prayers this Way, and by Degrees left off their Pilgrimages to *Mecca*. The Successors of *Schah-Abas* followed the same Plan to wean their Subjects more and more from a Devotion which was looked upon as prejudicial to the Interests of the State; so that it was rather tolerated there than suffered; and thongh *Schah-Hussein* was somewhat relax in this Point, as he had been in other Maxims of his Predecessors, yet the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* was still in great Disesteem, and few People in *Persia* were tempted to make it.

But this Consideration could not affect *Myrr-Weis*, who though a Mahometan as well as the *Persians*, was of a different Sect, the same with the *Turks*. The two Sects, into which all the Mahometans are divided, are distinguish'd by the Names of *Sunni* and *Rasi*.

Rafi. The former comprehends the *Turks*, and the other Followers of *Omar*; and the latter includes the *Perſians*, and the other Followers of *Aly*. The *Aghvans*, by ſubmitting to the Dominion of the Kings of *Perſia*, had made it an Article in their Capitulation, that they ſhould not be moleſted for their Religion, on Account of the Sect to which they adher'd; and never was any Trouble given them on that Head; conſequently they were not ſurpriz'd at Court, that *Myrr-Weis*, being an honeſt *Sunni*, had the Devotion to go to *Mecca*, for which Pilgrimage thoſe of that Sect have the higheſt Veneration. On the contrary, they were very much edified, to ſee that a Man who liv'd ſo agreeably as he did at *Iſpahan*, had Power to withſtand all the Charms that might have kept him there, to follow the Dictates of his Devotion and Zeal. Beſides, he obtain'd Leave to make this Pilgrimage with the leſs Difficulty, becauſe inſtead of carrying him back to *Candahar*, it remov'd him four or five hundred Leagues farther from it; for *Iſpahan* lies almoſt in the Centre between *Candahar* and *Mecca*, having the former on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt, inclining to the South.

Thus did *Myrr-Weis* ſet out for *Mecca*; which devout Pilgrimage deſerves the more Notice upon his Account, becauſe it was the Foundation of all his future Undertakings. It ſerves as the *Epocha* of the firſt Blow that he

he ſtruck at the *Perſian* Monarchy, and muſt be look'd upon as the Source of all thoſe Incidents, which afterwards prov'd its Ruin, as I ſhall now proceed to ſhew.

THOUGH the Intrigues and the Management of *Myrr-Weis* while he was at *Candahar*, were juſtly ſuſpected by the Government, who had Reaſon to take Umbrage at it, yet there was nothing criminal in his Conduct. There's all the Reaſon in the World to think, that he was not well affected to the State at that Time; but if he had any Views of Rebellion, they could only be founded on wild Projects, which he ſaw himſelf there was no Likelihood of bringing to paſs; and 'tis very probable that he would have ſtopp'd there, if the Journey which he was forc'd to make to Court had not diveſted him of a Prejudice which had, till then, prov'd a Bar to all his Deſigns.

HE had all along depended ſo much on his Credit, on the Affection of the People, on his Power, on his Riches, and the great Number of his Friends and Adherents, that he thought himſelf in a Condition to raiſe a Rebellion in the Province, and to be Maſter of the capital City of it when he pleaſed. But when he bethought himſelf of the over-grown Power of the King of *Perſia*, ſuch as he fancied it to be, his immenſe Treaſures, his Forces in all Parts, the Armies which he kept in Pay on his Frontiers, and which upon the

firſt Order would pour in upon him, and cruſh him to Pieces, his Heart fail'd him. He look'd upon his Projects as wild Chimæras; and it appear'd viſible to him, that the Conſequence of ſuch an Attempt would only be the Ruin of himſelf firſt of all, and that then it would give a lawful Pretext to aggravate the Yoke of his Countrymen, who would blame him for it, and for ever abhor him.

He was full of theſe Ideas and Prepoſſeſſions when he came to Court; but he had not been there many Months, e'er he was of another Mind. This Power which he apprehended to be ſo formidable when he viewed it at a great Diſtance, was much leſſen'd when he ſaw it cloſely. He had indeed a great Number of Troops on Foot, but for moſt part ill pay'd, ill kept, diſguſted with their Service, too weak and diſpirited to do any Thing of Moment, and cramp'd by the Diviſion of the Miniſters, one Part of whom minded nothing but to thwart the Projects of the other. Beſides all this, he ſaw a King of a mean Spirit without Knowledge or Experience, who knew not the State of his Kingdom ſo much as the loweſt of his Subjects, a meer Slave to the Eunuchs, who commanded in his Name, and were more Kings than himſelf. *Myrr-Weis*, who was a Man of Reflection and good Judgment, when he ſaw the Confuſion of Affairs, and the Weakneſs of the Government, could not expreſs his

his Surpriſe, to ſee that the State ſubſiſted; and he perceiv'd that it was more owing to its Reputation than to its Strength; and that conſidering the low Condition, to which the Kingdom was reduc'd, there was no Province ſo ſmall, but might ſhake off the Yoke with Impunity, and ſet it ſelf free if it had but the Courage to attempt it.

WHAT he had all along thought impracticable, and as it were chimerical, in the Schemes which he had ſometimes contriv'd for a Rebellion, appear'd then to him not only poſſible, but even eaſy and infallible. From that Moment he form'd and fix'd his Project; and the firſt Thing he did in Conſequence was the Journey to *Mecca*.

WHATEVER was his Confidence in the Credit that he had acquir'd with his Countrymen, he thought that in an Enterpriſe of ſuch Importance as that which he had in his Head, there was an abſolute Neceſſity of binding them to his Intereſt, by ſomething yet ſtronger than the Affection which they bore to him, and which might be of ſuch a Nature, as indiſpenſably to engage the whole Nation; and as there is no Tie more powerful or efficacious than that of Conſcience, he propoſed to turn his Rebellion into a War of Religion, and to get the Sanction of a Law for it, to which even the moſt moderate of the Nation could not but pay a Deference, and a blind Submiſſion.

That was the Motive of his Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, where, after he had perform'd the Devoirs of his Religion, he ſent to deſire the chief Doctors, who reſided both at *Mecca* and *Medina*, that they would pleaſe to grant him a particular and ſecret Conference, in order to conſult them, and take their Opinion on ſome Scruples of Conſcience, which had for a long Time diſturb'd him. The Conference being granted, *Myrr-Weis* open'd it with magnificent Preſents of all the richeſt and fineſt Things that he could pick up in *Perſia*, and then told them, that though his Conſcience had for a long Time preſs'd him to come to *Mahomet*'s Tomb, yet he muſt confeſs to them, that one of the chief Motives which had at laſt determin'd him to undertake that pious tedious Pilgrimage, was the Deſire he had of conſulting the moſt learned Doctors of the Law, and the greateſt Lights of the *Mahometan* Religion; that the Situation he was in of being reduc'd with his whole Nation under the Obedience of a heretick Prince, had ſtarted Doubts and Perplexities in his Mind, which nothing leſs than an Authority ſo irrefragable as theirs could ſatisfy; that he knew that their Deciſions were admitted as Oracles in all the Courts of the Eaſt; that he would receive them for him and his Countrymen with the ſame Reverence, and that he would adhere to what they

they ſhould pronounce, as much as if *Mahomet* himſelf had decided it.

After this ſhort Preamble, he propoſed his Doubts to them by Way of Caſes of Conſcience. First, he deſired to know, "Whether in the Oppreſſion which the *Perſians* "were kept under, they could in Conſcience "lay hold of any favourable Opportunity to "recover their antient Liberty by Force of "Arms, and free themſelves from a Yoke, "by which they were cramp'd in the Exerciſe of their Religion, the Laws of which "were violated every Day?

"Secondly, he deſired to know if they "were oblig'd to keep the Oath of Allegiance, which the chief Men of each Family had been forc'd, with the Knife at "their Throats, to ſwear to Hereticks of the "Muſſulman Law, ſuch as the *Perſians*, "eſpecially conſidering the Non-obſervance "of the Conventions ſtipulated, and Privileges granted under the Seal of the Oath "taken by the King, and not minded by the "*Perſians*, who not content with all the Affronts which they have loaded them with, "have juſt now, as the laſt Inſult they can "ſubject them to, put them under the Slavery of *Ghiahours*, (a Term that ſignifies Infidel, and which the Muſſulmen inſult the Chriſtians with,) who take away "their Wives and Daughters, carry their "Sons into Slavery to *Georgia*, and ſell them

" afterwards like Cattle ; that moreover they " prophane and deride what was moſt ſacred " in their Religion, and that many of them, " forc'd by the *Georgians*, had had the Miſ- " fortune to abjure Mahometiſm, or elſe be- " ing ſeduc'd and drawn away by the *Per-* " *ſians*, embrac'd their Sect, both to the " great Prejudice of the Mahometan Reli- " gion."

THESE two Caſes of Conſcience were much the ſame in Effect; for admitting that it had been decided as to the firſt, that they might in Conſcience rebel againſt their King, 'tis evident, that from that Time they were not bound to their Oath of Allegiance. But probably *Myrr-Weis* was very glad to put Things in the ſtrongeſt Light he could, and to have an Occaſion by Favour of the ſecond Caſe, to give a longer Detail of thoſe Grievances of his Countrymen that were moſt likely to move the Compaſſion of the Doctors whom he conſulted.

BUT this Precaution was not very neceſſary; and it may be ſaid, that conſidering the Averſion, and even a ſort of Abhorrence, which the *Turks*, and eſpecially the Men of the Law, have to the *Perſians*, from a Principle of Conſcience and Religion, they are always ready enough to do them an Injury; for they hate them to ſuch a Degree, that they commonly ſay, 'tis not ſo great a Sin in the Article of wilful Murder, to kill forty *Perſians*, or

Men

Men of *Rafi*'s Sect, as to kill one Chriſtian; and that in lawful War, 'tis more meritorious to kill one of thoſe than forty Chriſtians. Beſides this Core of Averſion, which is common to all the *Turks* in general, with reſpect to the *Perſians*, whom they look upon as the moſt dangerous Hereticks, and the moſt corrupt of their Religion, the Doctors of *Mecca* and *Medina* have other particular Motives of Reſentment and Enmity againſt them, as well on Account of what *Schah-Abas* the Great did formerly, by eſtabliſhing the Pilgrimage of *Meſzat*, in order to divert his Subjects from that of *Mecca*, as in Purſuance of the authentick Excommunication, which thoſe ſame Doctors formerly fulminated againſt the *Perſians*, upon the Inſtance of *Amurath*, againſt whom *Schah-Abas* made War with Advantage. During the Confuſion which the *Turk* was in, he imagin'd that nothing would be more proper to inſpire his Troops with freſh Courage, and to animate them againſt the *Perſians* their Enemies, than to publiſh againſt them in the moſt flagrant Manner, a ſort of Cruſado, accompanied with all manner of Excommunications and Curſes: And as the *Imans*, or Prieſts and Doctors of the Law, who reſide at *Medina* and *Mecca*, are held in ſingular Veneration, not only in *Turky*, but alſo throughout the Eaſt, he deſired them to publiſh the ſame in their Name. 'Tis too long to be inſerted here at large; 'tis ſufficien

to take Notice, that among the Grievances which are there particulariz'd, they reproach the *Perſians* for not believing, that at the *Abdeſt* or Waſhing, it is lawful to waſh the Foot all naked, but only to ſprinkle the Water lightly over it; for never ſhaving their Muſtaches, but only the Beard of the Chin, which is the comelieſt Ornament of a Man, as alſo for cutting it how they pleaſe; for uſing in their Shoes and Stockings the holy green Colour, conſecrated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, and for wearing the Red Turban. And finally, after having declar'd that they are branded as Hereticks in ſeventy Places of the Alcoran, that they are become abominable, that they are the Sink of all Manner of Uncleanneſs and Sins, that they are the moſt inſolent and moſt irreconcileable Enemies that the *Turks* have in the World, the *Mufti* concludes in theſe Words: (See the Hiſtory of the Preſent State of the *Ottoman* Empire in 1670. *Lib.* II. *cap.* x.) " By Virtue therefore " of the Authority which I have receiv'd " from *Mahomet* himſelf, and by Reaſon of " your Wickedneſs and Unbelief, I publick- " ly pronounce, that 'tis lawful for any Be- " liever, of what Nation ſoever, to deſtroy " and root you out. If he that killeth a Re- " bel Chriſtian, doth a Thing agreeable to " God, he that killeth a *Perſian* doth one " that deſerves a Reward ſeventy Times " greater. I hope alſo from the divine Ma-

" jeſty,

" jesty, that in the Day of Judgment he will " make you serve instead of Asses to the *Jews*, " that that miserable Nation which is the " Contempt of the World, may mount and " trot with you to Hell."

THOUGH *Schah-Abas*, who was personally branded in this Excommunication, was not of a Character to be very uneasy at any Anathema from *Mecca*, yet he was not willing to be in Debt to the *Turks* on that Score; and in order to pay them Curse for Curse, he caused them to be solemnly excommunicated in his Turn by his *Szicheliglam*, i. e. the High-Priest of *Persia*, and by Way of Reprisal for the Curse upon the *Persians*, that they might serve as Asses to carry the *Jews* to Hell, one yet more insulting was vented against the *Turks*, wishing that the Excrements of the *Armenians* might fall upon the Head of *Omar*, whom the *Turks* acknowledge *Mahomet*'s true Successor, and the greatest Prophet of their Law, next to him. This Imprecation is continued, even to this Day in *Persia*; and as often as the *Moullas* call the People from the Top of the Mosques to come to Prayers, they finish their Invitation with that pious Ejaculation.

FROM all this 'tis natural to infer, that *Myrr-Weis* play'd a sure Game when he address'd himself to the *Imans* of *Mecca*; and that it was in a proper Sense, making the *Persians* own Friends their Prosecutors. He

had alſo all the Satisfaction on the Part of thoſe Doctors that he expected; for they not only ſolv'd all his Doubts, according to his Deſire, but they alſo gave him the Deciſion, or the *Fetfa* *, in Writing, ſign'd by the Doctors, ſeal'd with the Seal of *Mecca*, and veſted in a Word with all the Forms that could render it moſt authentick.

It was with this important Piece that *Myrr-Weis* return'd to *Iſpahan*, more pleaſed with the Fruit of his Journey, than ever was any Pilgrim of *Mecca:* His Return gave equal Pleaſure to the two oppoſite Factions of the Court, each of which number'd him in their Party; and he reconciled them to himſelf ſtill more, by curious Preſents of various kinds, which he brought from his Pilgrimage, and eſpecially of the Banner of *Mecca*, which is the moſt coſtly, and the moſt coveted over all the Eaſt.

Nevertheless, though after he was furniſh'd with the Deciſion at *Mecca*, he delay'd a great while to put himſelf in a Situation to make Uſe of it for the Execution of his Projects,

* *This is the Name they give in* Turky *to the Solution which the Mufti gives when he is conſulted upon any Affair of State or private Caſe. When the Queſtion is well ſtated, and committed to Paper in few Words, he writes at the Bottom* Yes, *or* No, *or after another very ſhort Manner; and this Opinion is call'd* Fetfa: *After which he adds,* God knows beſt.

jects, yet he took great Care of discovering the least Sign of Impatience to be sent back to *Candahar*. On the contrary, he never shew'd more Indifference in that Respect, than when he was most eager to return, and had most Reason to wish himself there. He even affected to make believe, that he had taken a Fancy to *Ispahan*, and he often talk'd of sending for his Family thither.

Thus he amused the Court by an external Air of Indifference, till some fair Opportunity should offer for his Departure. He hop'd indeed to lay hold of the first that should present it self, but he did not foresee that one was like to offer so soon, when upon Occasion of the most trifling Incident to all Appearance, he found Means to force the King and his Ministers to send him back to *Candahar*, as a Man of Confidence at Court, and upon whose Zeal and Abilities they rely'd most for the Maintenance of their Authority throughout the whole Frontier.

An Ambassador arriv'd at that Time at *Szamachi* *, who was going to the Court of *Persia* from the Czar of *Muscovy*. The Gentleman's Name was *Israel Orii*, an *Armenian* Adventurer, born at *Kapanlu* in *Persia*, who

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*Tavernier *and* Chardin *call it* Chamaky, *but in the spelling of this Word I have followed the Author of my Memoirs. The Government of* Szamachi *takes in a Part of Southern* Media, *and* Hyrcania.

who after having travell'd through *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, ſelling Coffee in the Armies, liſted himſelf a Soldier at length in the Troops of the Emperor *Leopold*, and attain'd to the Rank of a ſubordinate Officer. Being a Man of Intrigue, he found Acceſs to the Miniſters of the Court of *Vienna*; and becauſe he very well underſtood the chief Languages ſpoke in the Eaſt, he was ſent to *Conſtantinople* to ſound the Diſpoſition of the *Turks*, with reſpect to the Peace they had a Mind to propoſe to them, and which was afterwards concluded by the Treaty of *Carlowitz*. Then he paſs'd into the Czar's Service, who made him a Colonel of his Troops, and who not being included in the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, employ'd him in his Turn at *Conſtantinople*, to negotiate an Accommodation with the *Turk*, being unwilling to bring him upon his Back, while he made War with the King of *Sweden*, whom he intended to attack forthwith.

THIS *Armenian* having conducted the Negotiation to the Czar's Satisfaction, he deſir'd, that as a Reward for his Services, he would gratify him with the Embaſſy to *Perſia*, as the moſt proper Means he could think of to enrich himſelf in a little Time, becauſe as the Ambaſſadors pay no Cuſtoms in *Perſia*, he propoſed to carry with him, which he did, a great Quantity of valuable Merchandize, by which there was vaſt Gain to be made,

con-

conſidering the Exemption from the ordinary Duties. As ſoon as he obtain'd a Grant for it from the Czar, he poſted to *Vienna*, where in Memory of his paſt Services, he alſo obtain'd Letters from the Emperor for the King of *Perſia*. From thence he went to the Court of *Rome*, where giving himſelf out for a Man of the firſt Rank, that had a World of Credit with the Schiſmatick *Armenians*, whom he would engage to bring into the Pale of the Church, he was ſo ſucceſsful as to get a Brief for that Purpoſe from *Clement* XI. for the ſaid King of *Perſia*.

BEING furniſh'd with all theſe Pieces, he arriv'd at *Szamachi* with a very great Retinue, as well of *Armenians*, who were at the Charge of the Embaſſy, as of *Muſcovites*, who being deſign'd for the Guard of the Ships which the Czar had in a Port of the *Caſpian* Sea, not far from *Szamachi*, accompanied him to this City, in order to give the more Luſtre to the Embaſſy. I ſhall not here enter into the Particulars of this *Armenian*'s Conduct, who was more a Merchant than an Ambaſſador, and ſhall ſay nothing more of him than what relates to my Subject. 'Tis hardly credible how much this Embaſſy, as inconſiderable as it was in the main, alarm'd the Court of *Iſpahan*, to which two Things eſpecially contributed. Firſt, his numerous Retinue, which however when he came to *Iſpahan*, was reduc'd to two hundred Perſons,

ſons. Secondly, Some Diſcourſe of his in Publick at *Szamachi*, where he ſaid he was deſcended of the antient Kings of *Armenia*, and gave to underſtand, that he did not renounce his Rights to that Sovereignty. All this terrified the Court of *Perſia*, who did not believe that an *Armenian*, a natural born Subject of the King, ſupported by a Prince ſo powerful as the Czar of *Muſcovy*, and with a Retinue as numerous as that which, 'tis ſaid, he had at *Szamachi*, was come into *Perſia* without ſome ſecret Deſign. As this Ambaſſador boaſted, among other Things, that he would cauſe all the Miſſionaries to be turn'd out of *Perſia*, by convincing the Court, that the Recommendations and Letters of the Chriſtian Princes, by Favour of which they had found Protection in *Perſia*, were all falſe and ſpurious Pieces, (Diſcourſe which he choſe to indulge himſelf in to do a Pleaſure to the *Armenians*, who as Schiſmaticks, wiſh'd the Miſſionaries no Good;) the *Europeans*, who had the Intereſt of theſe at Heart, and eſpecially M. *Michel* a *Frenchman*, ſent to the Court of *Perſia* by the late King for the Intereſts of Commerce, thought he could not perform a greater Service to Religion, than to diſſuade the Court from receiving the Ambaſſador. For this End he made uſe of the Alarm taken there at this *Armenian*'s Diſcourſe, and inſtead of diminiſhing increas'd it, by magnifying ſome Reports

ports that were current about the pretended Predictions which the *Armenians* pleased themselves with, as being contain'd in their Archives ; and wherein it was said that the Kingdom of *Armenia* should rise or revive one Day, under the Protection of the *Muscovites*. And, in order to render the Alarm still more pressing, the Ambassador's Anagram was tacked to those Predictions, by shewing that in *Israel Orii* were found the Letters *il sera Roi*, i. e. *He shall be King*.

All this took, indeed, but it had an Effect at Court quite contrary to what was proposed ; for during the Alarm at the pretended Projects of that Ambassador, it was imagined he would not be so formidable at *Ispahan*, if they could draw him thither, as he might be if they left him in the Country ; besides that they could not send back the Ambassador without offending the Czar his Master, whom they were not willing to embroil themselves with, especially since the Superiority which his Victories had gained him over the *Swedes*.

The Governor of *Szamachi* received Orders therefore to send the Ambassador away to *Ispahan*, where he was received with all the Tokens of Honour and Distinction. He managed his Affairs there very well, with Respect to his Commerce ; and besides carried it very even both to the *Armenians* and *Europeans* that were at *Ispahan*. He died several

ſeveral Years after at *Aſtracan*, a ſtaunch Catholick, to the Mortification of the Biſhops of his own Country, whom he would not give Ear to; and he carried the pretended Hopes of the future Re-eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom with him to his Grave. This I thought fit juſt to mention here, that the Reader might have no Queſtion to ask, as to the Conſequences of an Embaſſy which did no great Harm to *Perſia*, from the Part where it was apprehended, but afterwards was the Cauſe of irreparable Miſchief from another Quarter, by the Uſe which *Myrr-Weis* made of the Confuſion which that Event had cauſed at Court.

This Man, who had more Senſe alone than all the Miniſters of the Court put together, could not imagine how Perſons that were at the Head of Affairs in ſo great a Kingdom as that of *Perſia*, ſhould be alarmed at any Thing ſo chimerical as all that Stuff which was related concerning the *Armenian* Embaſſador, and Embaſſy; and, perhaps, nothing encouraged him more to put in Execution what he had been long contriving, but the Contempt which he entertained for the *Perſian* Court and Miniſters. But how chimerical and frivolous ſoever were the Deſigns with which they were alarmed, he reſolved, ſince the Court thought them real, to make that the Foundation of the Scheme he had laid to be ſent back to his

his Province : So that instead of opening the Eyes of the Ministers and the Court, to see how they were imposed on, he made it his Endeavour to swell the Objects, by augmenting and corroborating the Delusion as much as possible. No Body seemed more seriously impress'd than he by every Thing that was said of the future Re-establishment of the Kingdom of *Armenia*. He created Diffidence and Suspicions upon this Head, among all the Courtiers ; and the Esteem which People had of his Abilities and Learning added Weight to their Fears and Jealousies.

But when he was in Company with the Lords of the Faction which was opposite to that of the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, Governor of *Candahar*, at the Head of which was the Prime Minister himself, he did not adhere to their general Plan, but entered into politick Views and particular Reflections, which tended to asperse Prince *Georgi-Kan*, as the most dangerous Man in *Persia*, and the most to be mistrusted in the present Conjuncture of Affairs. At first he gave them a terrifying Representation of the exorbitant Power of the *Muscovites*, who, since the Defeat of the King of *Sweden**, were in a Condition

* *The Battle of* Pultowa, *where the King of* Sweden *was entirely defeated, was fought the* 8th *of* July, 1709. *Which Date may serve*

to

tion to give Law to all their Neighbours. " What, says he, if the *Georgians*, a People " naturally restless and uneasy, and always " well affected to the *Muscovites*, who are " of the same Religion and Rites as them- " selves, should take it in their Heads to " improve the Opportunity, and depend up- " on their Forces to set themselves at Liber- " ty ?" As to this he made a Remark upon the Zeal with which the Czar had always espoused the Interest of the *Georgians* at the Court of *Persia*, to which he had often been troublesome, by his too frequent, and too pressing Sollicitations. " Has he not " actually with him, *says he*, the Prince *Sa-* " *nazarli-Kan*, Cousin-German to Prince " *Georgi-Kan*, who has taken Refuge in " *Muscovy*, where he incessantly teazes the " Czar to free *Georgia* from Slavery to *Per-* " *sia ?* And he will not cease to press him " 'till he has brought him into it." From thence he directed them to cast their Eyes to the Danger that was to be feared from the *Armenians*, who being very numerous in *Per-* *sia*,

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to fix within a very small Matter, the Epocha *of Time that* Myrr-Weis *was sent back to* Candahar. *As the Memoirs from which I write do not mention the exact Date of these Events, there's a Necessity of seeking for it elsewhere, and we can find none more exact than what is taken from the very Discourse that* Myrr-Weis *used at that Time, and which is exactly set down in these Memoirs.* M. Michel, *above-mentioned, who was sent from the late King* Lewis XIV. *to the Court of* Persia, *was returned to* France *in* 1709. *See the* Mercury *for* March 1720. p. 13.

ſia, and being poſſeſſed of vaſt Riches, which they had acquired in Trade, would venture both their Lives, and Fortunes, as ſoon as Opportunity preſented to ſhake off a Yoke which they bore with Impatience, and to recover the antient Freedom, which they formerly enjoy'd under the Authority of their Kings. " What, *ſays he*, if at laſt, while " the *Muſcovites*, on one hand, are entering *Georgia*, where they would be received with open Arms; and while the *Armenians*, on the other hand, are riſing in the " Heart of the Kingdom, the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, on his Part, ſhould cauſe the *Aghvans* " to rebel, and put himſelf at their Head? " Or if, after having called in the Mogul, " and delivered *Candahar* to him, he ſhould " fall upon *Perſia*, already too much perplexed to face the *Muſcovites* and *Armenians*, what would then become of the " Kingdom, when attacked on all Sides.

How little Solidity ſoever there was in all theſe political Viſions, which had no other Baſis than the Chimeras formed in the Brain, as to the pretended Deſigns of the *Armenian* Ambaſſador from *Muſcovy*, they were as well received as if there had been nothing better founded and more real; and the Effect of them was more ſpeedy and violent than *Myrr-Weis* expected. 'Tis true that the Jealouſy of the Faction, which oppoſed Prince *Georgi-Kan*, did no Prejudice

by giving ſome ſort of Sanction to the Suſpicion which *Myrr-Weis* had caſt upon his Conduct.

THE Prime Miniſter, and his whole Faction took Fire upon it, and ſo warmly alarmed the King concerning the imminent Danger which the Province of *Candahar* was in, while in the Hands of a Prince juſtly ſuſpected, and whom they did not dare, however, to recal from thence, that they determined him to ſend *Myrr-Weis* thither immediately, as the fitteſt Perſon to thwart the Practices of the Governor, and to make Head againſt him, if he ſhould offer to ſtir. And to the End that the Marks of his Eſteem at Court might give him the more Authority in the Country, the King honoured him with the *Calaate*, or Royal Veſt, which he received in Preſence of the whole Court; and cauſed new Patents to be diſpatched, whereby he re-eſtabliſhed him in the Exerciſe of his Office with a more ample Power than he had held it before.

BEHOLD, therefore, *Myrr-Weis* returning in Triumph to his own Country, with the Favours of the Court heaped on him, and Letters of Recommendation in his Pocket to Prince *Georgi-Kan* from all his Friends, who gave him a mighty Character of the Bearer, and eſpecially from *Divan-Beg*, the Prince's Brother; wherein he gave him to underſtand that he could do nothing too much in Acknow-

knowledgment, for all the good Things which *Myrr-Weis* had said of him, during his Stay at Court.

About the End of the Year 1709. he arrived at *Candahar*, where he was received as the Saviour and Hero of his Nation. He lost no Time there; but, in order to make his Advantage of the Troubles and Alarms, in which he had left the Court, he acted his Part so well in a few Days, that by the Favour of the Confidence which he had acquired with the Governor, he found an Opportunity to assassinate him, when he least of all mistrusted him, while at the same Instant the People, who had taken Arms, put all the *Georgian* or *Persian* Troops that were in the Garrison to the Sword.

As soon as the Expedition was over, and every Thing in *Candahar* quiet, he called the People together; and, after having congratulated them upon the Courage and Resolution, with which they had freed themselves from the Oppression they were under by the *Georgians*, he told them that this was not enough; and that the next Thing they must do was to make a Struggle for their Deliverance from the Slavery and Tyranny of the *Persians*. That, as to the rest, he could assure them they had nothing to fear from the Resentments of the Court; that besides their being too far distant to be attacked in a Trice, all Things were in such Confu-

ſion there, by the Claſhing of the Parties with one another, that they were not able to undertake any Thing to their Prejudice; that even if they ſhould, the *Muſcovites*, the *Armenians*, and the *Georgians*, would cut out ſo much Work for the Court, that they would have many other Things to do, than to think of recovering *Candahar*; and that, happen what would, it muſt coſt them a great deal of Blood, before they could carry their Point. That, if they had any Hearts, they ſhould think of nothing hereafter, but how to maintain themſelves by Arms in that State of Liberty to which they were now reſtored; that they ought at laſt to be weary of paying ſo many Tributes; and that the Independency which they were going to live in, would ſecure them from the inſatiable Avarice of the Governors, who inriched themſelves at their Expence, and who ſeemed to be ſent among them for no other End, but to make their Fortunes in a little Time.

Though this Speech was ſo pathetick, yet it met with Oppoſition from many of the chief Men of the Country, who did not approve the going on ſo faſt, nor the puſhing of Things ſo far. They ſpoke in their Turn, and repreſented, that what had been done againſt the *Georgians* was juſt, and carried its Excuſe along with it: That, after ſo many Inſults from thoſe Infidels, upon the

Honour of their Wives and Daughters, they ought certainly to be extirpated; but that they ſhould ſtop there: That to talk of a Rebellion was the Way to ſtain the Nation by a Blot that would for ever diſhonour it, and which they abhorred to think of: That, in ſhort, they had a King, whom they owned for ſuch, and to whom they had ſworn Allegiance; and that they did not ſee how they could in Honour or Conſcience break the Oath which they had taken to him.

THOUGH *Myrr-Weis* perceiv'd the Impreſſion which this Remonſtrance made in the Aſſembly, eſpecially the Part relating to the Oath of Allegiance, he was not willing to ſtop the Effect of it, as he might have done immediately. He gave all the Liberty of Speech to thoſe who were of an Opinion contrary to his, and who by inſiſting ſo much on the Oath of Allegiance, which they continually ſet before the Eyes of the People, had cooled the Paſſions of thoſe that were the hotteſt, and reduced them to Sentiments of Moderation. But after he had let them ſpend all their Ammunition, he ſpoke again, ſaying, " That the Scruple they had " as to the Obligation of an Oath of Alle- " giance was lawful, and well grounded; that " he labour'd under that Scruple a long " Time himſelf; that for the many Years " he had been contriving how to free his " Country from the Slavery under which it

" groan'd, this ſingle Conſideration of the Oath " was all that had reſtrained him ; that though " the Contraventions of the *Perſians*, with " reſpect to ſeveral conſiderable Articles of " their Capitulations ſworn by the King, " ſeemed to excuſe them from being any " more ſcrupulous of the Oath they had taken " to him, than they were as to the Oath by " which the King had bound himſelf to them, " he did not mean that the Infidelity of others " ſhould be an Example proper for them " to follow, or which could quiet their Con- " ſciences ; that no Body paid a greater De- " ference than he to the Obligations which " were impoſed by an Oath of Allegiance ; " that he was always perſuaded that no Pre- " text or Conſideration could free him from " it ; that he had a long Time perſiſted in " thoſe Sentiments, and ſhould ſtill perſiſt " therein, if he had not been compelled to " ſubmit to the moſt awful Authority in their " Religion, and to which they themſelves " could not diſpenſe with their Submiſſion."

When he ſaid theſe Words, he pulled out of his Pocket the *Fetfa*, or the Deciſion which he had brought from *Mecca*, and cauſed it to be read before the whole Aſſembly ; which had ſo ſpeedy and compleat an Effect, that the moſt ſcrupulous immediately conſented, and there was no Body who did not think themſelves not only warranted by the Authority of the Doctors of *Mecca*, and *Medina*,

dina, but even obliged in Conſcience to take Arms againſt the King. And becauſe that, after a Reſolution of this Nature, it was neceſſary to give ſome Form to the Government, *Myrr-Weis*, who was very glad to lay hold of the Temper he found the People in, preſſed the Aſſembly to make ſuitable Proviſion. They were not long in deliberating: The common People, whoſe Darling he was, and who looked upon him as the Reſtorer of their Liberty, and the Father of their Country, named him on the Spot, with Acclamations, Prince of *Candahar*, and General of the Troops of the Nation, leaving the Conduct of all Affairs, both of Peace and War, to his Care.

But as he wanted Time to confirm himſelf in his new Dominion and to put himſelf in a Condition to reſiſt the Forces that might be ſent againſt him when the Court had Advice of his Rebellion, his firſt Care was to amuſe the Court, with reſpect to the Tranſactions at *Candahar*. Therefore he ſent Expreſſes thither, whereby he gave the King and his Miniſters to underſtand that the Inſurrection at *Candahar*, was only owing to the Licentiouſneſs and Tyranny of the *Georgian* Troops, who living in that City, as in a Town which they had taken by Storm, and indulging themſelves in the moſt ſcandalous Outrages againſt the Honour of their Wives and Daughters, had ſo exaſperated all

the Inhabitants, that it was not poſſible to reſtrain them from ſacrificing them to their Revenge : That he hoped this would be of no Conſequence ; and that he would omit nothing on his Part to do the King all the Service upon this Occaſion, which his Majeſty had Reaſon to expect from his Loyalty and Zeal ; and to maintain his Nation in the Obedience they ow'd him : That in the mean Time he thought it his Duty to repreſent to him, that according to the Diſpoſition he found in People who were ſcarce recovered from their Indignation and Rage againſt the *Georgians*, for their Inſults, it was proper to diſſemble, and to give them Time to be calm ; that otherwiſe if they ſaw the Court inclin'd to take violent Reſolutions againſt them, he would not be ſure, whatever Effort he made to oppoſe it, that they would not ruſh through Deſpair into the Hands of their old Maſters, and call them to their Aſſiſtance, which would kindle a fatal War, the Conſequences whereof were to be feared.

Such was the Diſtance from *Candahar* to *Iſpahan*, that it was ſcarce poſſible to be well inform'd of the Truth of Things at Court, where they believ'd, or pretended to believe, that every Thing was true as he reported : And the Conſiderations he made uſe of to hinder the Court from undertaking any Thing, had the more Weight, becauſe they were back'd

back'd by the chief Leaders of the Faction, who were the Cauſe of ſending him back to *Candahar*, to contrive the Ruin of the Prince *Georgi-Kan*. Their Jealouſy could not brook that ſo conſiderable and rich a Province, ſhould be in the Hands of the *Georgians*, to the Prejudice of the *Perſians*. Beſides, the Court was too much alarm'd ſtill by the Chimera's of the Kingdom of *Armenia*, to have any Inclination to involve it ſelf in freſh Broils. Thus they ſuffer'd the Remainder of this Year, and all the next, to ſlide away, without giving the leaſt Diſturbance to the Rebels, according as *Myrr-Weis* had indeed foreſeen; and he had all that Time to fortify himſelf, in caſe they ſhould come to attack him.

At laſt, when two Years were near expir'd, *viz.* in 1721. when they were fully recover'd of all the Alarms which the pretended future Re-eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of *Armenia* had fill'd their Heads with, they turn'd their Eyes towards *Candahar*, and prepared to take effectual Meaſures to reduce the Rebels to Reaſon, and to recover a Province, which was look'd upon as one of the moſt important of the Kingdom.

They could not have taken wiſer Meaſures for it than they did; for as no Body could be more concern'd to revenge the Death of the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, and the *Georgians*, who had been maſſacred with him in the Rebellion

lion of *Candahar*, than a Prince of the ſame Family, and Troops of the ſame Nation, they choſe for General of this Expedition, the Prince *Koſtrou-Kan* the deceaſed's Nephew, and gave him an Army, conſiſting for the greateſt Part of the *Georgians* his Subjects. The Court found a double Advantage in it; for beſides the Service it prov'd to them againſt the Rebels, it conſiderably weaken'd *Georgia*, of which they never thought themſelves very ſecure. Mean Time, for Fear leaſt the *Georgians* ſhould be too cock-a-hoop, if they alone ſhould gain their Point over the Rebels, and leaſt, valuing themſelves on their Succeſs, they ſhould be tempted to undertake ſomething upon their own Strength againſt the State, a conſiderable Body of *Perſian* Troops was join'd to them, who by ſharing the Honour of the Victory with them, would be in a Condition to hinder them from making an ill Uſe of it.

NOTHING in the World could have happened better than this; and the Rebels would have had all the Reaſon in Nature to have repented of their Rebellion, if, as *Myrr-Weis* really foreſaw, the Diviſions at Court had not ruin'd all thoſe great Preparations. The ſame Faction, which by procuring the ſending back of *Myrr-Weis* to *Candahar*, had cauſed the Death of Prince *Georgi-Kan*, and the Rebellion of the Province, was concern'd to thwart the Expedition of this Prince's Nephew.

phew. They apprehended, that if he ſhould ſucceed, a Service of that Importance would render him too great in the King's Opinion, and that he would find an Opportunity to let him know the Intelligence which that Faction had held with *Myrr-Weis*, and conſequently the Concern it had in the Rebellion. It was therefore not doubted, that if the Rebels had been worſted, he would have been Maſter of a great many Secrets, which could not be ſtifled, but by diſappointing the Expedition which was preparing againſt them. Conſequently the *Anti-Georgians* look'd upon it as the main Article on which their Credit and Fortune turn'd; and *Myrr-Weis* would have had this Advantage in his Rebellion, that as he was much concern'd to be in a Readineſs to ward off the Blows that were coming upon him; he had Friends in the very Miniſtry of the Court of *Perſia*, who were no leſs concern'd to take off the Force and Edge of thoſe with which he was threaten'd. For this End ſome Engines were ſet at Work, which, though private, and out of the Way, were not the leſs effectual. Three were employ'd eſpecially, which were enough to have daſh'd the beſt concerted Projects in the World. The firſt was with regard to the Money which the General was to receive for the Pay of the Troops during the Campaign. The Sums had been regulated according to the State of the Army in the King's Council,

and

and the ſame were accordingly allotted. This, which was only a Matter of Conſultation, could not be attended with any Difficulty, both becauſe it was a Thing of Courſe, and the rather, becauſe it was regulated in Preſence of the King himſelf, who had this Expedition very much at Heart. But when it came to be put in Execution, in which the King had no Share, and they were forc'd to have Recourſe to the Treaſurers and ſubordinate Officers, a thouſand Ways were invented to elude the Orders which had been given in Council; and ſuch Miniſters as had publickly authorized them by their Suffrages, were, under-hand, the moſt forward to defeat them. There was not only a Delay in the Payments, which coming too late, and after the Blow was given, diſabled the General from the Power to make uſe of them for the Execution of his Deſigns, but ſo many other Pretences were ſtarted, that notwithſtanding all his Solicitations and Remonſtrances on that Head, he could never get more than one third of the Sum which had been promis'd him, and which was abſolutely neceſſary for the Succeſs of his Expedition.

The ſecond Obſtacle he met with, was owing to the *Perſian* Troops that had join'd his Army, and which being loth to obey a General that was a Foreigner, had deſir'd that they might be commanded by an Officer of their own Nation, and by him only; which was

was of very fatal Conſequence for the particular Service. For though this ſpecial commanding Officer was ſubordinate to the General on ſome Accounts, and with reſpect to the ſubſtantial Part of the Expedition, yet as a Dependance on any ſuperior, and eſpecially on one that is a Foreigner, and therefore odious, is always diſagreeable to a Commander, who is at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Troops of the governing Nation, there were a thouſand Inſtances wherein the latter ſhew'd his Opinion of his own Merit, by evading and thwarting the General's Orders; and he did it with the leſs Decorum, becauſe he was very ſenſible, that inſtead of its being ill taken at his Hands, it would render him acceptable to the Faction of the *Anti-Georgians*, who had recommended nothing ſo much to him, as to behave in that Manner, and to be as diſagreeable to the General as he poſſibly could.

But the moſt cruel Engine that was employ'd againſt him, and what was the principal Cauſe of his Ruin, and the Rout of his Army, was an Officer that was appointed, as it were, to do him Honour, and by Way of ſpecial Diſtinction, in Quality of Intendant or Steward of his Houſhold. For this Purpoſe a Man was choſe of a crafty inſinuating Temper, who by Favour of the Acceſs which his Employment gave him to the General, introduc'd himſelf into his Confidence,

dence, and discover'd his Secrets. 'Tis not said, whether this Officer was chose in Concert with *Myrr-Weis*; but 'tis certain, that he himself could not have made a better Choice, and that the Wretch prov'd a Spy that exactly inform'd him of all the Designs and Counsels of the Army that was sent against him. This unhappy Spy did worse than all this; he went over to the Rebels, and serv'd them as a Guide to *Ispahan*.

It was not possible, but an Expedition thwarted in so many Respects by those who were trusted with the Direction of it, must have a fatal Issue. The Delays on one hand in the Payment of Part of the Sums that had been promis'd, and on the other hand, the affected Slowness of the *Persian* Troops to join the *Georgians*, were the Reason that the Army arriv'd too late at *Candahar*, and that it did not enter the Province, but at a Time when *Myrr-Weis* had taken such Precautions that it could not subsist there.

This Leader of the Rebels, whose Intelligence of the State of the Enemy's Army, of its March and Designs, was the more to be depended on, because he had it from some of the very Ministers who directed the Operations of it, was inform'd of the precise Time that it was to enter the Province. As he was not in a Condition to undertake to repel it, by opposing Forces that were equal or superior to it, he attempted to ruin it by

by depriving it of the Means of Subſiſtance. 'Twas with this View, that after he had diligently gather'd in the Harveſt, and ſent all the Corn from the Country to *Candahar*, he march'd out of the City, at the Head of his Troops, and went and made ſuch Spoil in all the neighbouring Countries for ſeveral Leagues round, that when the Army arriv'd near *Candahar*, it found neither Proviſions nor Forrage, nor had any Hopes of getting any elſewhere, the Excurſions of *Myrr-Weis* having oblig'd all the Country People to retire with all their Effects to ſome Place of Safety.

At the Entrance therefore of the Campaign, the Army labour'd under all the Inconveniences of Scarcity, which are ſeldom felt but at the End of an Expedition. Upon this enſued a Miſunderſtanding between the *Georgians* and *Perſians*, the latter complaining, that the General was more concern'd for the Neceſſities of his own Vaſſals and *Georgians*, than he was for theirs. They would fain indeed have drawn the Rebels into the open Country; and conſidering the general Scarcity throughout the whole Army, it was the only Reſource they had left; but they had to do with an Enemy too cunning to commit the like Fault. *Myrr-Weis* ſtood with his Arms folded upon the Walls of *Candahar*, from whence he caſt an Eye of Concern upon the Confederate Enemy's Army, which was

waſting

wasting it self to no Purpose, being resolv'd not to stir out till he saw them retreating. Mean Time his Troops, who were shelter'd in the Town where they wanted for nothing, only waited for his Orders to follow him, and to fall upon the Rear-Guard of the Army, as soon as it should decamp.

They did not wait long. The *Persians*, who could not bear the Heat of the Sun, and were in absolute Want of Forrage, an Inconvenience so much the worse for them, because their Armies consist for most Part of Horse, desir'd or rather extorted Leave of the General to retire; which put him also under a Necessity of retiring with his Troops, which he sent before with the Baggage, keeping himself in the Rear-Guard with the Flower of the Troops, to cover their March. *Myrr-Weis*, whose Eyes were every where, did not yet know whether his Decampment was made in Earnest, or in Jest; but he was soon let into the Secret, by the Treachery of the Intendant that was plac'd with the General; who taking Advantage of that sort of Disorder which always attends the Retreat of an Army, ran away with the News to *Candahar*, where he took off the Mask, and join'd the Rebels.

Myrr-Weis who had only waited for this Moment, immediately took the Field at the Head of a great Body of Troops, all fresh Men, who having an Enemy to oppose, that

was

was already fatigued by Heat, and weaken'd by Poverty, went to the Battle as to a certain Victory, of which they could not fail. Being mounted upon freſh Horſes, and having no other Incumbrance but their Arms, they were ſoon up with the Rear-Guard of the Enemy's Army. At firſt they only harraſſed it by a few Skirmiſhes, to give Time for the Arrival of a Reinforcement that *Myrr-Weis* expected, which could not march ſo faſt as the Horſe, *viz.* a Body of eight hundred Camels, which carried two Soldiers each, Back to Back, arm'd with great Carbines. This Reinforcement was no ſooner arriv'd, but they fell on all Sides upon the Rear-Guard, which was all cut in Pieces, with the General. *Myrr-Weis* immediately after this firſt Expedition, went and fell upon the *Perſian* Troops, that were retiring with the leſs Apprehenſion or Precaution, becauſe they thought themſelves ſecur'd by the Rear-Guard, of whoſe Defeat they were not inform'd. He made a bloody Slaughter of them, and carried away all their Baggage. One would have imagin'd, that *Myrr-Weis* would have thought two Victories enough for the Work of one Day; however, he did not ſtop there, but reſolv'd to attack the Body of the *Georgian* Army, which was marching homewards the other Way. But he was check'd in his Progreſs, by a Troop of five hundred *Georgians*, who, though ſurrounded on all Sides,

defended themselves with so much Resolution and Courage, that they cut their Way through the Enemy Sword in Hand, and went and join'd the Body of their Army, which perhaps would have been surpriz'd in their March, and defeated as well as their Rear-Guard, had it not been for this timely Intelligence. The Resistance which *Myrr-Weis* met with from those five hundred *Georgians*, made him give over the Thoughts of pursuing the main Body of an Army consisting of such good Troops, and he return'd with his *Aghvans* laden with Booty, to *Candahar*, being follow'd into the Town with all the Baggage of the Enemy's Army; and though they had been twice victorious, they could not help doing Justice, even at their own Expence, to the Bravery of the *Georgians*, saying, *That the* Persians *were but Women compar'd with the* Aghvans, *and the* Aghvans *but Women compar'd with the* Georgians.

The Death of *Kostrow-Kan*, the General of the Army, who was killed in Defence of the Rear-Guard, was the most considerable Loss that *Persia* sustain'd on this Occasion, and which it was the more difficult for it to repair, there being at that Time no Captain in the Kingdom worthy to succeed him. This Prince was so unhappy, as to renounce the Christian Religion for the Mahometan, in order to secure his Right to the Principality of *Georgia*, which he enjoy'd with the

Title of Vaſſal and Governor in the Name of the King of *Perſia*. But he afterwards repented of it, and he was reſolved to abjure Mahometiſm, happen what would, and to return to the Church, as ſoon as his Expedition to *Candahar* was at an End, with full Purpoſe, if it muſt be ſo, to ſacrifice his Principality to his Religion. He had actually begun to make Declaration of it, by cauſing a Croſs to be placed in his main Standard. The Miſſionaries had not a more declared Protector in the Kingdom of *Perſia*. He had always two Capuchins with him, whom he kept there under the Title of Phyſicians, and carried with him in his Expedition to *Candahar*, as well as a Carmelite, named Father *Baſil*.

The Conſternation at the Court of *Iſpahan*, and over all the Kingdom, upon the News of this great Defeat was extraordinary, and even thoſe who rejoiced in their Hearts, as having been the Inſtruments of it out of ſpite to the *Georgians*, were obliged to keep their Joy ſecret, and to conform to the publick Sorrow. The Miſcarriage of this Expedition ſo diſcouraged the Court, that they were not in haſte to undertake another. But at two Years End they ſeem'd to revive, and at the End of every two Years they made ſome freſh Attempt; tho' the moſt fortunate of all thoſe Enterprizes for the Court, were ſuch wherein the King's Army was able to retire, if without Advantage, yet without any conſiderable Shock.

As for the others, which were all ſignaliz'd by freſh Defeats, they only ſerved to gain the Rebel's Party Credit, and to diſcover the Folly and Weakneſs of the Court more and more. There were ſcarce any but the *Georgians* that were capable of reducing the Rebels to Reaſon, and they even offered to march againſt them a ſecond Time; but as they imputed the ill Succeſſes of their former Campaign in the firſt Place to the wicked Tricks that were put upon them, by the affected Delays in the Payment of the Sums promiſed them, of which they had ſcarce touched above a third Part; ſecondly, to the ill Conduct of the *Perſian* Troops that had joined them, and by whom they complained they were abandoned and betray'd; they were not willing to undertake the Expedition to *Candahar*, but upon two Conditions: 1ſt, That they ſhould be punctually paid all the Sums ſtipulated; 2dly, That their Army ſhould conſiſt of Troops of their own Nation only, and that they alone ſhould have Charge of the Enterprize.

The firſt of theſe two Conditions was juſt, and met with no Difficulty; but the ſecond, which was the principal, and as to which they would hear of no *Medium*, cauſed the Propoſition to miſcarry, becauſe the Court thought the Remedy almoſt as dangerous as the Evil. For it was equally unſafe for the Court, whether the Enterprize ſucceeded, or not: If it ſucceeded, the *Georgians*, who would have all

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the Glory of it, would thereby become the more formidable, and the better able to ſhake off the Yoke, which they had already attempted to ſhake off more than once. If it did not ſucceed, it would only ſerve to add new Strength to the Rebellion, and more Reputation to the Rebels; of whoſe Reduction there would afterwards be no Hopes. Therefore, conſidering how unable the Court was to undertake any Thing upon it's own Bottom that had any Proſpect of Succeſs, they choſe rather to diſſemble the Misfortune, and to let it take its Courſe, than to employ ſuſpicious and equivocal Remedies, the very Succeſs of which ſeemed as much to be feared as the Miſcarriage. Therefore they made no real Attempt againſt the Rebels; who improving the tranquil State in which they were left, made Incurſions into the Provinces that were contiguous to them; and ſpreading Terror every where, under the Conduct of *Myrr-Weis* their General, they ſecured their Dominion, and his too, by new Atchievements.

This famous Ring-Leader of the Rebels at length accompliſhed all his Projects. He had broke in Pieces the Yoke which his Nation had for a long Time laboured under, and had made his Name famous by the Boldneſs of the Undertaking, and the Luſtre of his Victories. So many Armies as had been ſent againſt him were either intirely defeated, or all repulſed, and obliged to retire with Shame,

and without any Advantage. By the conſtant Succeſs he had in all the Expeditions which were hazarded againſt him, he had made the Court of *Perſia* ſenſible of their Incapacity, not only to reduce him, but alſo to protect the Provinces with which he was encompaſſed, againſt his Excurſions. He had already half ſubdued them by the Terror of his Name and Arms; ſo that it may be ſaid, he was arrived to the Summit of Glory, if indeed Glory can be acquired in an unjuſt Cauſe, when Death overtook him at *Candahar* in 1717. after ſeven or eight Years of Government, always happy, to the great Regret of his Countrymen, whoſe Eſteem and Affection for him increaſed every Day, after they had once taken a Fancy to him.

They ſtill preſerved the ſame Affection for him after they had loſt him; for though by his Death they were at Liberty to chooſe a Commander out of their own Nation, yet they had ſo much Reſpect for his Memory, that they would not take one that was not of his Family; and as his Children were as yet too young for a Poſt of that Importance, which was to make Head againſt all the Power of *Perſia*, they promoted his own Brother, the Father of Sultan *Aſzraff*, the preſent Regent of *Iſpahan*, who at once had the Care of the Government, and the Guardianſhip of his Nephews.

THIS new Commander, whoſe Name is not ſet down in my Memoirs, was of a very different Character from *Myrr-Weis* his Brother. The latter was not more bold and enterprizing, than the other was moderate and Circumſpect. The great Succeſs of his Brother had not dazled his Eyes, but he clearly ſaw the Difference which there was between the Strength of a vaſt Monarchy, and that of a particular Province; and he was afraid, that if the Court of *Perſia* ſhould once revive out of that languiſhing ſtupid State it was in for ſome Years paſt, and concert juſter and wiſer Meaſures than it had done hitherto, the Rebels would fall a Victim to a Power whoſe Reſentment would be the more terrible, becauſe it had not only the Crime of Rebellion to revenge, but the Shame of its Defeats.

THESE Conſiderations inclin'd him to Peace, in which the beſt Heads of the Nation were of his Opinion. For as they believ'd they were not able to hold out to the End againſt all the Forces of *Perſia*, they thought it would be the beſt Way for their Nation to take the Advantage of their preſent Superiority, and of the weak Condition of the Court, in order to make the beſt Terms they could, and to free themſelves at leaſt from thoſe Impoſitions of the Government, which were too deſpotick and too burthenſome.

WITH this View, therefore, and by Advice of the chief Men of the Nation, In-

ſtructions were drawn up for the Deputies that were to be ſent to *Iſpahan*. By this Deputation they made an Offer to reconcile themſelves to the Obedience of the Crown of *Perſia* on theſe two Conditions: 1. That as the Rebellion was only owing to the Oppreſſions and Violence of the Governors and foreign Troops quartered upon them, no more ſhould be ſent them for the future; and that, after the Example of ſome other Provinces of *Perſia*, whoſe Government was appropriated to certain particular Families, that of *Candahar*, and the whole Province of the *Aghvans*, ſhould for the future be hereditary in the Family of the late *Myrr-Weis*. 2. That the Tribute formerly pay'd ſhould be leſſened.

It being impoſſible to foreſee that the Court of *Perſia* would fall into that State of Lethargy and Contempt, which it afterwards ſunk into, nothing was more commended than the Courſe which the Rebels took. They came off of their Rebellion with Honour, by making a conſiderable Alteration in their Condition for the better, and by guarding themſelves for the future againſt any Danger from the Oppreſſion of the *Perſians*. It was moreover out of Doubt, that in the then Situation of the Court, they would readily have ſubſcribed to Conditions for the Recovery of a Province which they were not able to reduce, and for being delivered from ſo much Uneaſineſs, and Perplexity, though with ſome

Diminution of their Authority. But the Misfortune was, that when the Deputies were juſt ready to ſet out, this Project of Pacification was quaſh'd by an Event that no Body dream'd of.

THOUGH the greateſt and wiſeſt Men in the Nation were all, as has been ſaid, very much for a Reconciliation, yet the greateſt Part of the common People, and the Soldiers eſpecially, could not reliſh it. Being puffed up with their late Victories, they could not bear to think of ſubmitting to a People that they had always beat, ſince they roſe in Arms; beſides they did not think it a ſafe Courſe to take. They ſaid, " That whatever Conditions were " ſtipulated, they could not depend upon the " Sincerity of the *Perſians*, who would ne- " ver forget how much they had loſt by them, " nor the bloody Affronts they had heaped " upon them; that they ought by no Means " to lay down their Arms; and that even " though they ſhould ſubmit, at the long " Run, they would have no more to fear " from *Perſians* fluſh'd with Victory, than " what they ſhould now of their own free " Choice expoſe themſelves to, from *Per-* " *ſians* vanquiſhed, and therefore exaſperated. " Beſides, ſaid they, why ſhould they be in " ſuch haſte to put themſelves in Irons, which " no Body durſt hold out to them? And why " ſhould not they rather take Advantage of " the Folly and Indolence of the Court of

" *Perſia*,

" *Perſia*, in order to bring in neighbouring " Provinces to their Party, and even to force " them, if neceſſary, Sword in Hand, to join " with them againſt the common Enemy ? " That if they could but once come to ſuch " a Reſolution, they would ſoon be ſtrong " enough, not only to hold out againſt all the " Attacks of the *Perſians*, but even to fall " upon them, and carry the War to their own " Doors."

THIS, which was the publick Diſcourſe of the common People, made the more Impreſſion, becauſe it perfectly tallied with the Advice which *Myrr-Weis* gave on his Death-Bed ; for when there was no Hopes of his Recovery, the chief Men of the Nation, being alarmed by the Loſs of a Man who was the Soul of their Party, and their real Support, thought fit to conſult him what Meaſures they ſhould take after his Death ; whether they ſhould continue the War, or enter into an Accommodation. To which he gave this Anſwer preciſely : *If the* Perſians, ſaid he, *are obſtinately bent to come and attack you, make your Peace upon any Terms ; but if they ſleep over this War, go and attack them even to the Gates of* Iſpahan.

THIS Diſpoſition of the Populace, directly contrary to the pacifick Views of the new Governor and his Council, obliged them to conceal the Meaſures they took for the Treaty with the Court from the Notice of the Publick ;

Publick ; though ſome of their Deliberations were not ſo ſecret, but that they took Wings and flew to the Ears of *Maghmud*, one of the Sons of *Myrr-Weis*.

This young Man, who could not be above ſeventeen or eighteen Years of Age, having followed his Father in all his Expeditions from a Child, and been brought up among the Soldiers, who were very fond of him, no ſooner ſmelt what was doing, but upon the bare Suſpicion of it he formed a Reſolution againſt his Uncle and Guardian, which was ſuitable to his natural Savageneſs, and the barbarous Education he had among Murderers and Free-Booters. As he lodged in the ſame Apartment with him he found Means to get into his Chamber one Night, and cut off his Head while he was aſleep. As ſoon as he had ſtruck this Blow, he ran to the Tower, on the Top of which were the Drums with which they uſed to call the People together, and beat an Alarm : From thence deſcending into the Square, he acquainted the chief Men he found there of what he had done ; and to juſtify ſo ſtrange an Action, he read the Inſtructions to them, which he found among his Uncle's Papers for the Deputies which he was going to ſend to Court. Then he exhorted them to puſh on the War with more Vigour than ever, engaging, if they would but follow him, and own him for their Commander, to convince them that he knew how to

to put in Practice the Leſſons he had receiv'd from his Father, in the many Campaigns which he had attended him in from his Infancy.

As the Miſchief was done, and could not be undone, what had paſſed was approved of. The Soldiers who had a natural Affection, as was before obſerved, for *Maghmud*, who was always among them from a Child, were the firſt to declare in his Favour; and he had not only their Suffrages, but thoſe of all the People at the ſame Time. Thus did *Myrr-Maghmud* acquire the general Command over all his Nation by Parricide, a Crime which God would not ſuffer to go unpuniſhed, but, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by, permitted Sultan *Aſzraff*, his Couſin-Germain, and Son of him whom *Maghmud* had ſacrificed to his Ambition, to make the ſame Victim of the Murderer to his own Ambition, by cutting off his Head, as he was in Bed, after the ſame Manner as *Maghmud* had cut off the Head of *Aſzraff*'s Father. ---- But to return where we left off.

Myrr-Maghmud, who naturally loved War, and whoſe Inclinations were, moreover, confirmed by his Education in the Soldiery, and in the Noiſe of Military Expeditions, no ſooner found himſelf Prince of *Candahar*, and General of the *Aghvans* in his Father's Room, but he aim'd to ſignalize himſelf by ſome Exploit that might juſtify the Choice

Choice that had been made of his Perſon, by putting him at the Head of the Nation, and make up for the Authority he wanted on Account of his Youth. Happy for him, the Court of *Perſia* gave him all the Leiſure that could be; for, as they flattered themſelves that an End was put to the Rebellion by the Death of *Myrr-Weis*, and found thoſe Hopes more and more confirmed by the Notice they had of the peaceable Temper of his Brother and Succeſſor, as well as the moſt conſiderable People of the Nation, they did not think fit to run any Riſque for the Recovery of a Province by Arms, which they ſhortly expected to regain by an Accommodation; and when they afterwards heard of the late Revolution at *Candahar*, by the Murder of the Brother of *Myrr-Weis*, and the Election of his Son, it was too late to give Order for the preparing and ſending of an Army to make War above four hundred Leagues from the capital City.

The new General forthwith took the Field, and following the Plan which *Myrr-Weis* his Father, chalk'd out for him on his Death-Bed, in caſe that the People declared for War, deſign'd immediately to make himſelf known, and to ſtrike a Terror into the neighbouring Provinces by his Ravages. After he had done this ſufficiently, by frequent Excurſions always ſucceſsful, he was more particularly intent

tent upon a Design, the Success of which would double the Power and Forces of his Nation, and qualify them for greater Views, than keeping barely on the Defensive, as they had done hitherto with Regard to *Persia*.

There was in the Neighbourhood of *Candahar* a Province called *Hasarai*, which was inhabited by *Aghvans*, as well as that of *Candahar*. These two People, who were of the same Origin, and who antiently formed but one and the same Nation, differed in nothing but Religion. Indeed they both followed the Mahometan Law; but with this Difference, that the *Aghvans* of *Hasarai* were of the same Belief as the *Persians*; whereas those of *Candahar* conformed to that of the *Turks*. The former were of the Sect of the *Rafi*, and the latter of the Sect of the *Sunni*; which makes the great Distinction between the two Branches of the Mahometan Religion, into which all *Asia* is divided.

While the *Candahar* Rebels were forming a Design to strengthen their Party, by making an Union and League with some Nation, there was none that agreed better with them than the *Aghvans* of *Hasarai*. They were originally Brothers, and they had the same Inclinations, and the same Customs. 'Tis true that the inveterate Enmity there is between the *Rafi*'s, and the *Sunni*'s, had formed a Wall of Separation between these two Tribes

Tribes of *Aghvans*, which it was very difficult to break down. And they conſtantly reſiſted the moſt preſſing Solicitations which the *Aghvans* of *Candahar* made uſe of to engage them to join them. They choſe to ſide with their Brothers on the Score of Religion, preferably to thoſe who were ſo by Birth ; and the Attachment which they had to their Sect always ſupported their Fidelity to the laſt, as long as they were able to hold out ; ſo that if they complied, 'twas only becauſe they had no other Courſe to take. For *Myrr-Maghmud* perceiving that no good was to be done with them by a Courſe of Negotiation, had recourſe to Arms ; and he harraſſed and plagued them to ſuch a Degree that while they were abandoned on one hand, by the *Perſians*, whoſe Aſſiſtance they had often in vain implored, and preſſed on the other hand by the Enemy, who opened their Arms to receive them ; and inſtead of improving their Advantage to bring them under Subjection, only deſired to make them Partners in their good Fortune againſt the *Perſians*, they at laſt conſented to join them, and were as firm and conſtant to the new Party, which the Neceſſity of their Affairs had obliged them to embrace, as they had been true to the King, while they were able to ſtand by him. *Myrr-Maghmud* employ'd the two firſt Years of his Generalſhip

ralſhip to bring them to theſe Terms, while the Inaction of the Court of *Perſia* gave him all the Leiſure for it that could be.

The Declaration of the *Aghvans* of *Haſarai* in Favour of thoſe of *Candahar*, as much ſurpriz'd and alarm'd the Court of *Perſia*, as it did Honour to *Myrr-Maghmud*, who, as the firſt Eſſay of his Conduct and Valour, had juſt conſummated an Affair which even *Myrr-Weis* his Father was not able to accompliſh. The Court found in the Son an Enemy ſtill more dangerous than in the Father, in regard that he was of a more enterprizing Genius; and then his Youth, which was already made illuſtrious by happy Atchievements, ſeem'd to preſage a long and bloody War, if it was not prevented in Time. It was reſolv'd therefore, to ſend a ſtronger Army againſt him, than all that had yet taken the Field.

The only Thing that remain'd to be done, was to chooſe a General for an Expedition which was reckon'd of the greateſt Importance that could be undertaken in the then Situation of Affairs. For this Purpoſe they caſt their Eyes on a Nobleman, nam'd *Sefi-Kuli-Kan*, which ſignifies the Lord *who is Slave to* Sefi. Every Body approv'd of the Choice, and even the prevailing Faction at Court, after all their Oppoſition to it, conſented. The Motive which induc'd the Leaders of that Faction to concur in it, was this; Either he will ſuc-

ſucceed in this War, ſaid they; or elſe he will miſcarry in it, as others have done. If he ſucceeds, in this Caſe we ſhall find our Advantage by the Service it will prove to the State, in the Government of which we have a large Share; and if on the contrary he miſcarry, he will be a new Sacrifice to our Party.

REALLY a better Choice could not have been made for the intended Expedition; but it was more eaſy to nominate the Perſon, than it was to make the Employment acceptable to him. *Seſi-Kuli-Kan* had formerly been *Divan-Beg*, or Chief Juſtice at *Iſpahan*; and as he was a Nobleman of approv'd Integrity, he exercis'd that great Office with ſuch a ſtrict Impartiality, that the Favourites and chief Courtiers who ſaw that he had no Regard to their Recommendations, could not reliſh him, and even found Means to put the King out of Conceit with that unalterable Regard to Juſtice, which they conſtrued as exceſſive Rigour; ſo that this Nobleman perceiving that he diſoblig'd his Maſter in the very Thing that ought to have gain'd him more of his Eſteem, and that nothing was to be got by diſcharging the Part of a Man of Honour under a Prince who, though perfectly honeſt himſelf, had not Judgment enough to ſet a true Value upon Probity, and had too much Folly to ſupport and protect it, he reſign'd his Poſt to the King, and retir'd from Court with Indignation.

THEY therefore chose him for the Expedition to *Candahar* in his Absence, and nothing but the pressing Necessity they were under for a General of his Merit and Character, made them think of him, and forc'd the Ministers to go and find him out in his obscure Retreat. But as he knew all the Artifices that were put in Practice to thwart and disconcert the former Expeditions, and that he was as odious to the prevailing Faction, as were the late Prince *Kostrou-Kan*, and the Generals whom they had sacrific'd to their Hatred and Interest, he excus'd himself without Hesitation from the Employment to which they had design'd him. Not all the Intreaty of the Ministers, and the King himself, could conquer the Aversion he declar'd to so dangerous a Commission, and he persisted to excuse himself to the last. But as they saw none besides him really capable, they made use of a Court Stratagem, which whether he would, or no, put him under a Necessity of serving.

HE had an only Son that he dearly lov'd, whose fine Qualities promis'd much. They imagin'd, that by giving this Son, though as yet but seventeen Years old, the Title of General for the Expedition which was in hand, the Father would be forc'd to accompany him, and that his Tenderness would so far prevail over all his Pleas, that he would not forbear going into the Field, to command an Army in the Name of, and as Lieutenant to his Son, which they could not persuade him to command in Chief. THERE-

THEREFORE according to the Cuſtom in *Perſia*, when they have a Mind to veſt any one with abſolute and extraordinary Authority, they ſent the Son a very fine Horſe, cover'd with a rich Harneſs, a Buckler, and Pike, a Cuiraſs cover'd with Gold Brocade, and a Turban adorn'd with Diamonds. All this was preſented as from the King to this young Nobleman, and ſeaſon'd with all the fine Compliments that could be moſt acceptable and pleaſing to his Perſon. The Father indeed foreſaw what would be the Conſequences of a Snare which was thrown in the Way of his Tenderneſs: But he was his Father; and he could notwithſtand the Intreaties of a Son ſo exceeding dear to him, who flatter'd with a Mark of Honour and Diſtinction, which was not to be parallel'd in a Youth of his tender Years, conjur'd him with Tears, not to be the only Man in the whole Kingdom to oppoſe his good Fortune. Therefore he conſented to it, though with Difficulty; and that he might not abandon his Son to the Fire and Fury of Youth, in ſo dangerous an Employment, he reſolv'd, as the Court had foreſeen, to accompany him in that great Expedition in Quality of his Lieutenant.

THE Complaiſance he had for his Son having prevail'd with him in this Inſtance, beyond all the Authority of his Prince, did not eſcape the malicious Reflections of the Courtiers, who in order to diminiſh before-

hand the Merit of the Service in which he was engag'd, did not fail of obſerving to the King, that he had not ſo much Intereſt with *Sefi-Kuli-Kan*, as his Son had, for whoſe ſake he had done more than he would have done for any Regard he ow'd to his Prince, or to the Welfare of the State.

MEAN Time the Father and the Son made their Preparations, and after they had form'd an Army of ſixteen thouſand choice Men, the young General, accompanied by his Father, went to Court, where he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Diſtinction that could flatter his Vanity. The King made a publick Entertainment for him, to which the Father was alſo invited; but he excus'd himſelf. He girt his Sword alſo by his Side, in Preſence of the whole Court; and that he might have an Opportunity of ſhewing his Skill on Horſeback, and in throwing the Spear, he had a little Tournament made for him, after the Manner of the Country, in the Meidan or great Square of *Iſpahan*; where the Youth diſtinguiſh'd himſelf to the Satisfaction of the King, and with the Acclamations of the People.

IN the Midſt of theſe Acclamations, and with the Prayers of all the Publick, he ſet out from *Iſpahan* to head his Army. But the Event did not anſwer thoſe ſhining Preludes. He had no ſooner ſet Foot in the Enemy's Province, but being carried away by the Ardour of a young Man, and forgetting

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the Advice that had been given him by his Father, who follow'd him with the main Army, he went raſhly with ſome Squadrons which he had in the Van, and skirmiſh'd with the firſt Troops that he met with of the Rebel's Army, by whom he was kill'd. The Misfortune of the Son ſoon drew on that of the Father, who heard this tragical News too ſoon, and having nothing more to mind after he had loſt his only Son, the ſole Object of his Love and Hopes, hearken'd to no Advice but that of Revenge and Fury, and ruſh'd into the Middle of the Enemy, where fighting deſperately, he was at laſt over-power'd by Numbers, and found in Death an End to all his Sorrow. After the Loſs of the Generals, the Army gave Ground, and was entirely routed.

The Court, which the leaſt Loſſes in former Campaigns diſpirited, ſeem'd to take Heart in this, and was encourag'd to enter upon new Meaſures, for renewing the War with more Vigour than it had been carried on hitherto. Mean Time, as no Body offer'd to conduct an Expedition, which by Reaſon of the Death or ill Succeſs of ſo many able Generals who had fail'd in it, was look'd upon as a dangerous Rock, the *Athemat-Doulet*, or chief Miniſter, was ſo zealous for the King's Service, that he offer'd himſelf to his Majeſty for this great Enterprize. The King who did him the Juſtice to have a high Opinion of

his Capacity, very well lik'd the Propoſal; and would readily have ſet his Hand to it, if he had not been diverted by the Eunuchs, who being jealous of the Miniſter's Credit, repreſented to the King, that it was not Prudence to join ſo great a military Poſt, as the Command of his Armies, to that abſolute Authority, with which he was already veſted in the Chief Poſt of *Athemat-Doulet*; and that theſe two Employments join'd together, might be dangerous Inſtruments in the Hands of a a Subject that would be tempted to abuſe them.

THIS Conſideration check'd the King, and prevail'd over his Inclination; but what in State Policy he had refus'd to his Prime Miniſter for himſelf, he granted to his Brother-in-Law *Luſt-Ali-Kan*, whom that Miniſter had propos'd to ſupply his Place: And notwithſtanding all the Efforts of the contrary Cabal to divert the Blow, the *Athemat-Doulet* carry'd it in ſpite of them, and found an Advantage in it, which ſoon after coſt him very dear.

THOUGH the Relation betwixt *Luſt-Ali-Kan* and the Prime Miniſter, was enough to have render'd his Vote in his Favour ſuſpicious, yet his very Enemies did him the Juſtice to own, that he was not unqualified for the important Employment with which he was honour'd. He was a Man of a good Head-piece, well turn'd either for Advice

o

or Action; and though he had not yet any great Commands in the Armies, he was reckon'd pretty well vers'd in military Affairs. And indeed to his Misfortune he made too great a Diſcovery of his Talents, by the Manner in which he went to work, and as much alarm'd the Cabal which oppos'd him at Court, as he terrified the Rebels of *Candahar*.

Before he undertook any Thing againſt the latter, he was reſolv'd to open the Campaign with ſome ſignal Exploit, to give him a Reputation. The *Arabians* had for ſome Years paſt ſurpriz'd the Iſle of *Maſcate* in the Gulph of *Perſia*, and had expell'd the *Perſians* from thence, which was to their very great Prejudice. *Luſt-Ali-Kan* propos'd, before he went upon any other Enterprize, to recover this Iſland; and as ſoon as he had aſſembled his Army, caus'd it to march that Way. As he wanted Ships to carry his Troops over to the Iſland which he was to attack, he concerted juſt Meaſures thereupon with the *Portugueſe* of the *Indies*, who on the Payment of a certain Sum of Money, were to ſend their Tranſports for that Purpoſe. The *Portugueſe* Fleet came in Time, but the Money being delay'd through the Intrigues of *Luſt-Ali-Kan*'s Enemies at Court, retir'd into its Harbours, leaving the unhappy General upon the Shore lamenting his Caſe, to find himſelf through the Treachery of thoſe who ought to have had the Intereſt of the

Government more at Heart, excluded from a Conqueſt, as infallible as it was important to the Welfare of the Kingdom.

While he was in vain reproaching and curſing the Authors of this Treachery, he heard that *Myrr-Maghmud* taking Advantage of his Diſtance, was advanc'd towards *Kirman*, and by Means of a Correſpondence in the Place, had taken it.

This famous Ringleader of the Rebels, who from the Advantage he gain'd laſt Year over the *Perſian* Army had entertain'd very great Hopes, propos'd no leſs to himſelf than to puſh the War into the Heart of the Kingdom; and that he might be more at hand to carry it on there, he had caſt his Eyes on the City of *Kirman*, to make it a Place of Arms, and took it, as has been ſaid. This City, which, as it were, forms a Triangle with *Iſpahan* and *Candahar*, lying South of both, not ſo far by one third from the former, as it is from the latter, though 'tis three hundred Leagues from *Candahar*, is the Capital of a Province of the ſame Name, which was the antient *Caramania*. Great Part of it is inhabited by the *Gaurs*, who pretend to be deſcended from the antient *Perſians*, Worſhippers of Fire, and being very uneaſy under the Yoke of the modern *Perſians*, who have often perſecuted them, *Myrr-Maghmud* had no Difficulty to gain them; and it was by their Means that he took the Town.

Nothing

NOTHING leſs than an Event of this Conſequence could have deliver'd the *Perſian* General from his Deſpair for the Affront that had been lately put upon him in ſight of *Maſchate*. As it was of Conſequence not to leave the Rebels Time to fortify themſelves in the Town which they had thus ſurpriz'd, *Luft-Ali-Kan* did not ſtay for his whole Army to attack them, but haſtily forming a Body of the fineſt and moſt active Troops he had, he went before, and fell upon *Maghmud*, whom he entirely routed; and after having drove him from *Kirman*, and taken his Baggage from him, he purſued him to *Candahar*, where he oblig'd him to ſhut himſelf up, very much aſham'd of his entire Overthrow, and aſtoniſh'd to find there were Men ſtill left in *Perſia*, that were capable to give him Law.

THIS Victory caus'd the more Joy, and made the more Noiſe in all *Perſia*, becauſe it was the firſt Time that the *Aghvans* had been beaten ſince the Rebellion, and was Demonſtration that it was not impoſſible to conquer them. Mean Time the General, who by *Myrr-Maghmud*'s bold Attempt upon the City of *Kirman*, plainly ſaw the full Drift of this Rebel's Projects, and the Importance of that Place, made it his firſt Care to ſecure it againſt Inſults, and all the Dangers of a ſecond Attack. He plac'd a good Garriſon in it, and fortified it ſo well, eſpecially that Part

Part call'd the Upper City, which is separated from the Lower, that in 1725 * it ſtill held out againſt the *Aghvans*.

After he had thus put all Things in Order, his Reſentment, which the Neceſſity of his Affairs had only ſuſpended, broke out with freſh Violence againſt thoſe who had occaſion'd his Diſappointment in the Expedition to *Maſchate*; and as he had no Juſtice to hope for from a King, whom they betray'd to his Face in ſuch a Manner, that he either did not ſee it, or was afraid to ſhew that he ſaw it, he reſolv'd to do himſelf Juſtice, and to do it with ſuch a high Hand as ſhould humble the Cabal of his Enemies, and convince them, that all the Protection they had at Court ſhould not skreen them from his Vengeance.

It was with this View that he brought his Army back to the Coaſts of the *Perſian* Gulph, where moſt of the great Men that he had a Deſign upon, had good Eſtates, and fine Seats; and on Pretence that his Troops, for want of their Pay, could not ſubſiſt otherwiſe, he quarter'd them in all their Houſes, where they liv'd at Diſcretion. All Horſes, Camels, Arms, and other Things fitting for a

* *This Circumſtance proves that there is a Miſtake in the Account inſerted in the* Mercure *for* November 1726. *where 'tis ſaid, that this City was taken by* Maghmud *in* 1722. *An Account of what paſs'd at this Siege will be given hereafter.*

a Soldier, were ſeiz'd, without any Formality, for the Uſe of the Army; not to reckon the great Contributions which they rais'd upon the Province in general, and of which the Noblemen, who had Eſtates there, paid their *Quota* as well as others.

But whatever Liberty he gave the Soldiers in this Reſpect, the Diſcipline of his Troops was kept up, and never perhaps was there an Army in *Perſia* ſo well kept, or ſo ſpruce. After it had refreſh'd it ſelf by a long Stay, it had Orders to advance towards *Chiras*, a City which lies on the Road from the Gulph to *Candahar*, and where the general Rendezvous was appointed. All the Troops rendezvous'd there in *November* 1720. with ſeveral thouſand Camels laden with all Sorts of Ammunition and Proviſions for the greateſt Part of the Campaign. 'Tis very probable, that this Army, as it was then diſpos'd, furniſh'd with all Things in Abundance, emboldenn'd by its late Succeſſes, and conducted by a wiſe and reſolute General, under whom it had newly learn'd to conquer, would ſoon have reduc'd the *Aghvans* to Reaſon, if a great Diſorder at Court, owing to the baſeſt Intrigue, had not ruin'd all thoſe great Hopes, juſt as they were ready to be conſummated.

Luft-Ali-Kan had a Mind to be reveng'd on the Great Men of the Court; and, to his Misfortune, he had ſucceeded too well in it.

Thoſe Noblemen being incenſed againſt him, and more nettled at the Diſdain with which he had treated them in ravaging their Lands, than all the Loſſes they had ſuſtained there; being alarmed, moreover, at the Credit which the Victory he had gain'd over the *Aghvans* had acquired him with the King, they did not doubt but if he ſucceeded in his Expedition, ſubdued the Rebels, and ſuppreſſed the Rebellion, a Service of that Importance would render him too powerful at Court, and that *Athemat-Doulet*, his Brother-in-Law, and he, having all the King's Confidence, and all the Authority of the Government to his own Share, excluſive of any other Perſon, would improve their Advantage to oppreſs and ruin them.

They ſaw no other Remedy but to prevent it by ruining himſelf: And though they could not do it without overthrowing the Hopes of the ſpeedy Reduction of *Candahar*, and of pacifying that rebellious Frontier; yet the Conſideration of their private Intereſt prevailed before the moſt important Intereſt of the State; and they choſe to venture the Loſs of All, than not to diſarm a General, who could not triumph over the Enemies of the Kingdom, without cruſhing them in Pieces by his Triumph.

As the two oppoſite Cabals at Court were equally intereſted to ruin a Man, whoſe Authority and Power muſt be equally burthenſome

ſome and prejudicial to them, if he brought his Deſigns to paſs, they united, and joined both againſt him. But imagining that it would not be poſſible for them to ſucceed in any Undertaking againſt him, as long as *Athemat-Doulet*, his Brother-in-Law, was in Place, and foreſeeing that this Miniſter, in whom the King had all Manner of Confidence, and to whom, that he might the more quietly enjoy the Delights of his Haram, he abandoned the Care and Incumbrance of all Affairs, would not fail to ward off the Blows that ſhould be aimed at his Brother-in-Law, they reſolved to deſtroy him firſt; and they ſucceeded by a very ill concerted Piece of Management, with which no other Prince but *Schah-Huſſein*, would have been ſo eaſily gull'd.

Among the Officers, who had moſt Acceſs to the Perſon of the King, there were two eſpecially who, by the Nature of their Service, were his moſt intimate Confidents and Familiars. The one was his Moullah, or Director of his Conſcience, and the other his chief Phyſician. Theſe were the two Officers that they employ'd to give the *Athemat-Doulet* the mortal Blow; and becauſe that in order to ſurprize the King into it, 'twas unavoidably neceſſary to chooſe a Time when he had neither Leiſure nor Conveniency to take Advice of any but the Conſpirators, they pitched upon that Time of the Night for

for the Execution of their Design, when they might have him most at their Discretion.

Every Thing was quiet in the King's Apartment, and there was a profound Silence. The King himself was actually asleep at one End of his Palace, when he was suddenly awaked by two Officers coming in with affrighted Looks, who casting their Turbans on the Ground, as a Token of Sorrow, said to the King, "That though they were not ignorant "that it was against the Rules to dare to dis- "turb his Repose, and to enter his Majesty's "Bed-Chamber without his Leave, especial- "ly during so sacred a Time; yet the im- "minent Danger with which they saw him "threaten'd, did not suffer them to have Re- "gard to the usual Formalities; that his Life "and Crown were at stake; which now was "the Time to secure against the Attempts "of the *Athemat-Doulet*, who had fixed on "that very Night for the Execution of his "Parricide: That the said Prime Minister, in "Concert with his Brother-in-Law the Ge- "neral of the Army, had vow'd the Death "of his Majesty, and the Extinction of the "Royal Family: That while the latter was "to go and make himself Master of *Ispahan* "with his Army, and to invest the King's "Palace, so that no Prince of the Royal "Family might escape, the *Athemat-Dou-* "*let* was to seize the King himself, with the "Assistance of three thousand *Kurdes*, which

"were

" were to be brought to him that very Night " by a Prince of that Nation, for whom he " had ſent an expreſs Order, ſealed with his " Seal of Firſt Miniſter."

THE King was in immediate Conſternation at the Greatneſs and Nearneſs of the Danger, eſpecially when the two Eunuchs put into his Hands a Proof of the Prime Miniſter's Correſpondence with the *Kurdes*. This was the very Order ſent to the Prince of the *Kurdes*, and ſealed with the Seal of the *Athemat-Doulet*. This Piece formed a Preſumption of the greater Importance, becauſe the Manner of Inſtalling an *Athemat-Doulet* in *Perſia*, is by putting the Seal of his Office about his Neck, which is never taken off till he dies, or is forced to reſign it.

FEAR realizes all Appearances, and renders every Thing credible to thoſe who are ſuſceptible of it. The King had no ſooner caſt his Eyes upon the Seal, which he thought he knew, but he fancied himſelf undone, and fainted away. As ſoon as he was a little recovered, a Council was haſtily formed of the moſt truſty Eunuchs and Courtiers, who had all an Underſtanding with the two Informers. The Conſultation was ſhort, and the Reſult of it was, that the King ſending for the *Corſchi-Bachi*, or General of the *Corſcris* ordered him to take his Guards, and others along with him, to break open the Houſe of the *Athemat-Doulet*, and to bring him his Head.

THIS

THIS Prime Minister who did not dream of what was hatching against him, was quiet in his Wives Apartment, when the *Corschi-Bachi* came to his House with an armed Force, and the Air of a Man that expected to find Resistance. The Minister was astonished at such a Visit, at so unseasonable an Hour, but much more when he saw himself hand-cuffed by that Officer's Order, who meeting with no Opposition in the Execution of his Commands, had him only carried to his House, without offering any Violence. For, though it was the King's Order to cut off his Head; yet it being represented to him, that in Case he met with no Resistance from him, it would not be proper to put him to Death, and that the King did not insist on it, the Officer only secured his Person.

NEVERTHELESS he was not beholden so much for the Preservation of his Life to the Compassion of his Enemies, as to their Avarice; for, as he had immense Riches, of which those who had ruined him hoped to share in the Forfeiture, they were very glad to save his Life, that under Pretence of extorting a Confession from him, by Torments, of the Secret of the pretended Conspiracy, they might force him to discover where his Treasures were. As soon as he was arrived in the House of the *Corschi-Bachi*, the first Thing they did, was to pluck out his Eyes, as is the Practice

Practice in *Perſia*, with regard to Perſons guilty of High-Treaſon, whoſe Lives they have a Mind to ſpare. Then they examin'd him by Torture, as to the Particulars of his great Eſtate. He made no Scruple to declare all that he had, which in Gold, precious Furniture, and Jewels, amounted to 900000 Tomans, or four Millions and a Half Sterling.

The very Moment that the *Athemat Doulet* was arreſted, ſeveral Couriers were diſpatch'd to arreſt not only the General *Luft-Ali-Kan*, but every one of the Prime Miniſter's Kindred, Friends, or Creatures, in the Country; for, as to thoſe at Court, they were ſecured immediately. The Man that they had the greateſt Deſire to ſecure, and who was the hardeſt to take, was the General, who was actually in the Neighbourhood of *Chiras* at the Head of an Army, which was entirely devoted to him; and who knows to what Extremities he might have puſhed Matters againſt the Court, had he been then informed how unjuſtly his Brother-in-Law had been treated, and of the Uſage which was deſigned with the ſame Injuſtice for himſelf? But all poſſible Precautions were taken to prevent it: For this End they choſe the only Man at Court that was capable of making the greateſt Diſpatch, and gave him a ſecret Commiſſion for the Governor of *Chiras*. The King ordered him to find Means under ſome Pretence or other to wheedle the General to his Lodgings,

and there to arreſt him with as little Noiſe, as poſſible, and ſend him under a good Guard to *Iſpahan*, bound Hand and Foot. As neither the General, nor the other Friends and Kindred of the Prime Miniſter miſtruſted any Thing, all Orders ſent againſt them had their Effect, and there was not one that thought of eſcaping.

All the Meaſures that were taken that Night, as well for arreſting the *Athemat-Doulet*, as for diſpatching the Couriers that were ſent to all Parts, could not be long a Secret in ſo ſmall a Town as *Tehran*, where the King then was. The Diſcovery of a great Conſpiracy againſt the Life of the Prince, the Arreſt of the Prime Miniſter, who was ſaid to be at the Head of it, the Cry that three thouſand *Kurdes* were coming to ſurprize and carry off the King; beſides the Addition which every Body made of his own Head to thoſe different Reports; all this was ſpread through the whole Town in a Trice; and was ſo alarming to all the People, that they ſtood under Arms all Night.

But when Day-Light appear'd, and the King found there was no Stir; that there was no Talk of the March of three thouſand *Kurdes*, nor of that of the Army from *Chiras* toward *Iſpahan*; and when he learn'd not only by the Scouts he had ſent Abroad on all Sides, to get Intelligence, but by thoſe who arrived

rrived from different Quarters of the Town, that every Thing was quiet Abroad, he began to miſtruſt that he had been impoſed upon, and was afraid he had been too haſty with regard to his Prime Miniſter. He had always loved and eſteemed him ; he looked upon him as the ableſt Man in the Kingdom, and the moſt fit for the Employment he had born, and he could not but own he had received conſiderable Services from him ; ſo that if it ſhould happen that he was not guilty, as he quickly began to ſuſpect he was not, he was fully ſenſible that his Conſcience would reproach him all his Life long for his unjuſt and barbarous Treatment of him. Theſe firſt Suſpicions, and the Reſentment he entertained, had ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that they made him talk with that Air of Authority, which he had not uſed to ſpeak in, to ſuch of his Officers as had any Share of his Confidence. He ſent for his chief Phyſician *Hekim-Baſzy*, one of the two Informers, and with a very ſevere Tone, and ſtern Countenance bid him take Care, that the Wounds they had made in the *Athemat-Doulet*, by plucking out his Eyes, did not endanger his Life, which if it ſhould miſcarry, he might depend upon it his ſhould anſwer for it. He ſaid, moreover, that as ſoon as this Miniſter was recovered, he would hear him, in order to condemn him if guilty, or to acquit him if innocent. It would have been expected of another King, that he ſhould have

added, *or to punish his Accusers, if they had accused him falsely* : But it was a great deal for so weak a Prince as *Schah-Hussein*, to venture to give Way to the Justification of a Man whom his Confidents had condemned.

The severe Tone with which the King talked, perhaps the first Time in all his Life, had its Effect. So much Care was taken of the Wounds of the *Athemat Doulet*, that his Life was in no Manner of Danger; and as soon as he was in a Condition to appear, the King was willing to have his Affair examined in a due Course of Law, as he declared it should. I shall now give an Account of this Hearing, which I fancy will not displease the Reader : Though it were not natural for Persons to be concerned for the Vindication of an illustrious Man, unjustly oppressed, yet a brief Account of the Things objected to him, and of his Answer, cannot but be useful, because of the Knowledge which it may give of the Manners, Interests, Intrigues, and Conduct of the great Lords of *Persia*, during the last Years of *Schah-Hussein*'s Reign.

The King having, therefore, fixed a Day to hear the Person accused in his own Defence, he appeared in an Assembly, consisting of all the Ministers and great Officers of the Court, in which the King himself was pleased to preside. They began with the Complaints against

againſt him, which were reduced to eight principal Articles.

I. 'Twas pretended that one Day, as he was in the City of *Kom*, at the Tomb of *Schah-Solyman*, (Father of *Schah Huſſein*,) who formerly put to Death the Prime Miniſter's Father, he let fall this Expreſſion, *A Time may come when I ſhall revenge the Death of my Father, by that of thy Son and his whole Family* This Charge was only founded upon the Report of one of the *Athemat-Doulet*'s Valets de Chambre.

II. He was asked, that ſince he always wore the Seal of his Office about his Neck, how it came to paſs that the Order, which was ſaid to have been ſent to bring the *Kurdes*, was ſealed with that Seal, if he had not a Hand in it?

III. He was charged with having determined all Affairs, like as if he had been abſolute Sovereign, and without taking Advice of the Council or the other Miniſters.

IV. It was thrown into his Charge, that his Orders were more reſpected in the Provinces than thoſe of the King himſelf.

V. The Alliances he had made with great Families, by marrying his Daughters and Neices to the greateſt Lords of the Kingdom, in order to form a powerful Party, was number'd among his Crimes.

VI. It was charged upon him as a greater Crime than all this, not only that he was of the Sect of the *Sunni*, but alſo that through his Attachment to that Sect, he under-hand favoured the *Leſgians*, who were of the ſame Religion, and Enemies to the Government. To prove this, a Letter was produced under his own Hand, whereby he gave the *Leſgians* to underſtand that they might ſafely extend their Ravages, as far as they pleaſed, provided they did not advance to *Erivan*, which he deſired they would ſpare, becauſe he that commanded there was his Nephew.

VII. He was reproached for having truſted the Government of the Provinces in the Hands of ſome of his Nephews, who were but Children.

VIII. Notice was taken of his great Wealth, which, ſaid they, was more ſuitable to the Treaſure of a King than of a private Man; and it was pretended that he could not be ſo rich without being diſhoneſt.

To theſe Grievances which affected him perſonally, ſome others were added, relating to his Brother-in-Law; for which they expected he ſhould be reſponſable, on Pretence that the ſaid General had done nothing but in Concert with him, both with regard to the Expedition to *Maſcate*, in which 'twas pretended he only fail'd, becauſe of a ſecret Underſtanding with the Commanders of the

Portugueſe

Portugueſe Fleet; and alſo with regard to the Eſtates of the Court Lords, whom he had ravaged in that Country. Laſtly, it was demanded for what Reaſon the General had marched an Army that was deſign'd againſt *Candahar*, towards *Iſpahan*; and why, inſtead of going to beſiege *Maghmud* in *Candahar*, after his Defeat, he choſe rather to employ his Troops in plundering the Provinces of the Kingdom.

THESE were the moſt conſiderable Grievances which were exhibited againſt a Prime Miniſter, who had for a long Time governed the State to the King's Satisfaction, and with a Fidelity never ſuſpected. The Prince calling upon him to anſwer if he had any Thing to ſay in his own Juſtification, he ſpoke with more Boldneſs than the Informers had aſſumed in accuſing him; and made ſo little an Account of Life, thinking himſelf not obliged for the Time to come to uſe any great Caution in what he ſaid to any Perſon whatſoever, that he began with complaining to the King of the King himſelf, who having condemned him without a Hearing, made the Proof of his Innocence very unneceſſary; becauſe, how clear ſoever he was in his own Conſcience, it was not in his Majeſty's Power to reſtore him to that Sight, of which he had been deprived by too raſh a Sentence; adding, that Life was only a Burden to him now; and that he ſhould take it

as a Favour, if the King would ſacrifice even that to the Paſſion of his Enemies who thirſted inſatiably for his Blood. Then, with the utmoſt Modeſty, though with a noble Confidence, he reckon'd up the Services which his Anceſtors and he had performed to the Crown; and, after having bemoan'd himſelf on the unhappy Situation to which he was reduced by Way of Reward, and on the Inſignificancy of a Defence, which was requir'd of him too late, he deſcended into the Particulars of the Grievances, and anſwered every Thing that had been alledged againſt him, Article by Article.

As to the Firſt, therefore, he ſaid, "That "the Evidence of a raſcally Footman, hir'd "for ready Money to ruin his Maſter, was "not to be admitted againſt ſuch a Man "as he; eſpecially in a Fact to which he "was the only Witneſs ſworn, and of which "he could not give any Proof." Then he required that the Wretch might be put to the Torture to compel him to declare, who had ſet him at Work to raiſe that Calumny.

As to the Second he owned, "That the "Stamp of his Seal which was found upon "the pretended Order ſent to the Commander of the *Kurdes*, might be of ſome Weight "againſt him, if it was not very manifeſt that "there were Forgers in *Perſia*; but that it "being notorious that there was a great Num-

"ber

" ber of them ſo well vers'd in their Calling,
" that of two Pieces, one of which lawful, and
" the other counterfeit, it was a hard Matter
" to diſtinguiſh which was the Right; ſo ſilent
" a Teſtimony as that could be of no Weight,
" if it was not accompanied and corroborated
" with other Tokens." He was not content with this general Anſwer; and as this was the only Grievance that was really material to his Cauſe, and that which had been the unhappy Pretext of his Condemnation and Calamity, he entered into ſuch particular Diſcuſſions of it, as plainly diſcovered the Falſhood and Folly of the Artifice that was contriv'd to ruin him.

" For, ſaid he, if the pretended Conſpira-
" cy was to break out that very ſame Night
" that I was arreſted, the Letter ſent to call
" the three thouſand *Kurdes* muſt have been
" diſpatched ſeveral Days before. It requir-
" ed twelve Days March for the three thou-
" ſand Men to come hither; and had the
" Courier made never ſo much Haſte, it
" would have taken him up ſeveral Days
" to carry it: Where, then, was this fatal Letter
" all the Time, of which the King himſelf knew
" nothing till the Moment that 'twas ſuppoſed
" the *Kurdes* were to arrive? Where was this
" Letter found? and when was it intercepted?
" Was it intercepted upon the Road be-
" fore it reached the *Kurd*? In this Caſe it
" muſt

" muſt have been in Cuſtody ſeveral Days be-
" fore that which was fix'd on for the Exe-
" cution of the Project. Who was it found
" upon ? from whom was it taken ? and who
" was the Bearer of it ? If it came to the
" Hands of the *Kurde*, how did it find its
" Way back again ? did he ſend it back ? Let
" him ſay ſo then. Why don't they pro-
" duce his Evidence ? For in an Affair of ſuch
" Conſequence, wherein the Life of the King
" was at Stake, ſuch a Diſcovery cannot but
" redound to his Honour. But why ſhould
" I make my Application to a Foreigner of
" a treacherous Nation, who is not to be de-
" pended upon, when my own Brother-in-
" Law was at the Head of an Army twenty
" Days March from hence, eſpecially ſince
" 'tis pretended that he was my Accomplice ?
" The *Kurde* was to bring me but three
" thouſand Men, and my Brother-in-Law
" was able to bring or ſend me Ten thouſand.
" What ſtrict Engagement was I ever known
" to have with this Foreigner, that I ſhould
" truſt to him, rather than to my Brother-in-
" Law ? What Precautions have I taken not to
" be betray'd ? What Meaſures for my own
" Safety ? What is our Treaty ? what our Con-
" ventions ? And if he was able to ſurprize
" the King with his three thouſand Men, why
" ſhould he do it more for my Profit than his
" own ? What Forces had I to give Law to
" him ? But how can it be pretended that I

" had

" had any Hopes of being able to ſurprize
" the King with three thouſand Men, when
" I ſaw that he was attended with a Guard
" five Times ſtronger? From whence comes
" it that I ſhould defer the Enterprize till the
" King was ſecure in a Town, which, diffe-
" rent from moſt of the other *Perſian* Towns,
" is incloſed with ſtrong Walls, and which
" muſt neceſſarily have been beſieged with
" an Army of three thouſand Men againſt
" a Garriſon of fifteen thouſand? In ſhort,
" if I had been ſuch a Wretch, as to have
" formed the foul and horrid Conſpiracy with
" which I am charged, how could I be
" ſo ſilly, ſo blind, as to keep at home
" without any Guard but my common Ser-
" vants, that very Night too that I was juſt
" ready to put it in Execution? The Solitude
" and Security in which I was found in my
" own Apartment at ſo critical a Juncture as
" that muſt be, is the beſt Thing I can offer
" in my Vindication upon this material Ar-
" ticle."

As to the Third Head, he called the King himſelf to witneſs, whether it was not true, that his Majeſty had not totally referr'd the Diſpatch of his ordinary Affairs to his Conduct; that as to extraordinary Affairs, ſuch as Negotiations and Things of this Nature, he never meddled with them, but when his Majeſty was pleas'd to refer them to him by a particular Commiſſion; that beſides, as to

his miniſterial Conduct, if he did not give himſelf much Trouble to take the Advice of the Eunuchs, or of the other Courtiers, who complain'd of him, he was in the right not to do it, and that he did not think it expedient to conſult People that he knew were too much his Enemies to give him good Counſel, and too much wedded to their own private Intereſt to give any that was conducive to the Welfare of the Publick.

As to the Fourth Article he ſaid, that if his Orders were better executed in the Country than thoſe that proceeded immediately from the King himſelf, he was not to blame for it, but the Eunuchs and the other Courtiers, who were always ready to protect the vileſt of Cauſes, and who by revoking the King's Orders when they pleas'd, as often as they were brib'd by Preſents, had enervated all the Force of them; whereas it was otherwiſe with his Orders, which it was well known, no Conſideration of Credit or Intereſt could ever prevail with him to revoke.

As to the Fifth he ſaid, that if he had married his Daughters and Neices into great Families, he had done no more than what became his Birth and Rank; and that he did not believe it was criminal for a Man of his Quality, who was of one of the oldeſt Families of the Kingdom, and originally deſcended from the *Leſgian* Kings, to be cautious of degrading himſelf,

himſelf, by contracting an Alliance with the Tools and Footmen of Eunuchs.

As to the ſixth Article he ſaid, that ſince he was deſcended, as above, from the *Leſgian* Kings, it was no extraordinary Thing that he ſhould be of the ſame Sect with his Countrymen, and all his Anceſtors, as well as the *Turks*; that he never diſſembled it; and that as there were entire Provinces in *Perſia* who were tolerated in that Religion by the Kings, he did not ſee upon what Foundation they could make it a Crime in him, ſo long as it did not put him upon any Meaſures contrary to the King's Service Then he demanded, "Whether the Incurſions which the *Leſgi-*
"*ans* had lately made into the Provinces
"of the Kingdom was ſuch a ſtrange Thing
"that they ought to be imputed to him? and
"whether they were People ſo pacifick, and
"ſuch Friends to Tranquility, that they ſtood
"in need of Solicitations to come and plun-
"der their Neighbours. Is it pretended,
"continues he, that they never made any
"Incurſions upon our Lands, but ſince I came
"into the Miniſtry, when they have former-
"ly been ſo troubleſome, that his Majeſty's
"Predeceſſors have been under the Neceſſi-
"ty of having ſtanding Armies upon their
"Frontier to keep them in Awe? If any one,
"ſays he, is to blame for theſe Ravages, 'tis
"not I, but 'tis owing to the Avarice of ſuch
"as,

" as, by putting in their own Pockets the Pen-
" ſions formerly paid to thoſe People to keep
" them in their Allegiance, have forced them
" to be their own Pay-Maſters, by plunder-
" ing the Provinces, and to make up by their
" Incurſions the Deficiency of the Subſidies,
" of which they have been diſappointed. "
After this he took Notice, " That when the
" King gave him a ſpecial Commiſſion to pro-
" vide a Remedy for this Diſorder, he had
" put at the Head of the Troops he ſent
" againſt the *Leſgians* the only one of all
" his Nephews whom he had moſt Con-
" fidence in, and whom he had even named
" in his Will for his Succeſſor in his Office,
" and Heir to his Eſtate; that every Body
" knew the melancholy Iſſue of that Expe-
" dition, wherein his Nephew fell a Sacri-
" fice to the *Leſgians*." Whereupon he de-
manded, " Whether his Enemies had not
" alſo ſome Letter of his to produce, where-
" by he had ſollicited thoſe *Barbarians* to
" murder that Nephew who was ſo dear to
" him."

WHAT the Miniſter had ſaid of thoſe di-
verted Subſidies, which had given Occaſion
to the Incurſions of the *Leſgians*, was of the
more Weight, becauſe an Embaſſy was new-
ly arrived at Court from one of the petty
Kings of that Nation, to whom the others had
applied to mediate an Accommodation be-
tween them and *Perſia*. He was the more

proper

proper Perſon for it, becauſe he had no Hand in their Excurſions, but had always kept up a good Underſtanding with the *Perſians*. For their own Part, the Thing which obliged them to have Recourſe to pacifick Meaſures, was the Fear of an Incurſion from the Prince of *Georgia*, of which we ſhall take Notice in its Place. The Ambaſſador of *Szam Kal*, which was the Name of the petty King that was concerned for them, made uſe of no other Argument to excuſe their Incurſions, but the Neceſſity they were under of making them for their Subſiſtance, after their Subſidies were ſtopped; for it was under the Name and Title of auxiliary Troops that the Kings of *Perſia* had uſed to pay them certain Penſions, though in Truth they only pay'd them as a ſort of Tribute, by which they purchaſed the Peace, and Security of their Subjects againſt the Enterprizes of thoſe *Barbarians*. Theſe Subſidies which amounted to 1700 Tomans, or 8500 Pounds Sterling, had not been paid for many Years, the Funds thereof being alienated by the Avarice of ſome Favourites or Governors of Provinces, who had laid their Hands on them. They demanded, therefore, that the Payment of them might be renewed for the future, and that an Amneſty might be granted them for what had paſſed; on which Condition they not only promiſed to abſtain from their ordinary Excurſions, and to live in Terms of inviolable Fidelity,

Fidelity, but they alſo offered to employ their Arms in Favour of *Perſia* againſt the *Aghvans*. We ſhall have an Opportunity to give an Account hereafter of what was the Effect of this Negotiation ; 'twas ſufficient for the Preſent to mention ſo much of it only as was neceſſary to juſtify what the *Athemat-Doulet* had offered in his Defence.

As to the Seventh Article he owns, that the King at his Requeſt had given the Governments of the Province to two of his Nephews, who were as yet but Children ; that he was entirely obliged to the Royal Goodneſs for it ; but that his Majeſty having done others the ſame Favour, he did not ſee why they ſhould charge it as a Crime upon him more than them ; that beſides they knew well enough that ſuch Precaution was taken to plant about thoſe young Governors wiſe and able Men, who under the Name of Lieutenants or Intendants, ordered all Affairs, that the Provinces received no Prejudice by them.

As to the Eighth relating to his great Eſtate, he anſwered, that Part of it was Patrimony, Part of it what fell to him from his Brothers, Part of it the Forfeitures which the King had granted him, and Part of it was owing alſo to his good Conduct and Oeconomy, without wronging any Body. Then falling unmercifully upon the inſatiable Avarice of the Eunuchs, " However, ſaid he, ſup-
" poſing I had amaſſed all this Wealth, I
" had

" had Nephews and Daughters to take Care " of; but I would fain know who thoſe Eu- " nuchs lay up Treaſures for, that have ſuch " immenſe Eſtates? unleſs they don't care to " be told of thoſe Camels laden with Gold and " Silver, which they ſend every Year to *Mec-* " *ca* and *Medina*, which is contrary to the " Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, " where the ſame has been expreſſly prohibi- " ted ſince the Time of *Schah-Abas* the " Great, as they cannot be ignorant.

After having thus vindicated himſelf, as to what concerned him perſonally, he ſays, " That every one being chargeable with his " own Actions, he might be excuſed from " entering into a Diſcuſſion of Facts relating " to his Brother-in-Law, whoſe Conduct had " been not only ſo unblameable, but alſo ſo " wiſe, happy, and advantageous to the King- " dom, that he was ready to be his Surety: " That as to *Maſcate* he would refer himſelf " to what the Commiſſioner of the *Portu-* " *gueſe* Fleet ſhould ſay, who was actually " at his Court; and that he would inform " them, that the Fleet only retired without " tranſporting the Troops at *Maſcate*, be- " cauſe the Sum which the King had pro- " miſed by his Ambaſſador at *Goa* was not " paid."

For the Underſtanding of this Fact, the Reader ſhould know, that when *Schah-Abas* the Great took *Ormus* from the *Portugueſe*,

by the Help of an *Engliſh* Fleet, he made Peace with the *Portugueſe*, who conſented to leave him in Poſſeſſion of that Iſland for Half the Produce of the Cuſtoms, which was afterwards valued at a certain Sum *per Ann.* But, by the Diſorder that happen'd in Affairs during the whole Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, when the Finances were at the Diſcretion of the Eunuchs and Favourites, thoſe Sums had not been paid; the Conſequence of which was, that the *Portugueſe* taking Advantage of the Neceſſity the *Perſians* were under for their Fleet in the Expedition to *Maſcate*, ſtipulated with the Ambaſſador whom the King of *Perſia* had at *Goa*, that before the Troops were tranſported to *Maſcate*, a certain Sum ſhould be paid them, in Part of the Arrears due to them; which Sum having fail'd in the Manner that we have ſaid, the Fleet retir'd in Diſguſt, not without Complaint of the Diſhoneſty of the Miniſters of the Court of *Perſia*. But what could not but exaſperate all honeſt Men more than all, was, to ſee that the very Man, who to ruin the Expedition to *Maſcate*, out of ſpite to the Prime Miniſter and his Brother-in-Law, had ſtopped the Payment of the Money, ſhould have the Front to charge the Miſcarriage of the Enterprize on them two.

He owned, that it was through his Advice that the General, after the Defeat of *Maghmud*, returned with his Troops towards the

the *Perſian* Gulph; that, as to the Spoil which he had made on the Lands of ſeveral of the Nobility, 'tis poſſible that he was provoked becauſe he miſſed the taking of *Maſcate* for want of the Sums promiſed to the *Portugueſe*; but 'tis certain that he was compell'd to it on the other hand, by the Neceſſity of the War, and to keep the other Provinces in Awe. As to the March of the Army towards *Chiras*, he ſaid, "That his Brother did "no more in that than what became a Skil- "ful General, who was willing to make ſure "of the Succeſs of his Expedition: That "having conſidered that *Koſtrow-Kan*, the "Prince of *Georgia*, only miſcarried in his, "becauſe he came too late to *Candahar*, "and not till Harveſt was gathered in, he "was not willing to be ſubject to the ſame "Inconveniency: That, as the Harveſt did "not come on at *Candahar* till towards the "End of *May*, he had concerted his Mea- "ſures to be there before that Time; that he "had therefore propoſed to ſurprize the "Rebels by paſſing over the Deſerts between "*Chiras* and *Candahar*; that it was his View "alſo, by this painful March, and by the "Severity of a more rigorous Climate, to "inure the ſoft and effeminate *Perſians* to "Fatigue: But that to the End that the Ar- "my might want no Proviſions, neither in the "March, nor during the Campaign, he had "amaſſed a vaſt Store, with which he had

" laden several thousand Camels; that he " (the *Athemat-Doulet* himself) had sent him " three thousand Loads of Rice at his own Ex- " pence. Now to what Purpose, says he, " could he lay up such vast Stores of Pro- " visions, which could not be done without " raising the Murmurs of the People, if the " Design had been to carry the Army to *Is-* " *pahan*, by passing through Provinces where " there could not fail to be Provisions in " Abundance? Was it not a hopeful Way " to get the Favour of the People in the Usur- " pation of the Crown, to exasperate them " by Contributions, which how necessary so- " ever, are always more or less disagreeable " to the People, and cannot fail of incensing " them against those who order them."

As to the Accusation against his Brother-in-Law, that he did not march to besiege *Maghmud* in *Candahar*, after his Victory, " None, " said he, but a mere Novice and Ignoramus " in military Affairs would cast it in his " Teeth. Don't they know that he left the " Bulk of his Army by the Side of the Gulph, " when he went to surprize the Rebels at " *Kirman*? and would they have had him " gone with the lesser Part of his Troops, " which were already harassed by pursuing " *Maghmud* across the Deserts, to besiege " him, after the Harvest was over, in a City " where there was plenty of every Thing, " and twice the Number of Men to defend

" it,

" it, that he would have had to attack it? " The next Crime they will lay to his Charge " will be, that after ſo many bloody Defeats, " ſo many compleat Routs, and, after the " Loſs of ſo many great Captains killed by " the *Aghvans*, he ſhould dare to be the " firſt to beat and put them to Flight.

THUS did this unfortunate Miniſter vindicate himſelf and his Brother-in-Law; and though he did it with more Courage and Pride, than the preſent Situation of his Affairs ſeemed to comport with, the King, inſtead of being offended with him, could not forbear weeping at the Misfortune of a Man who had been always dear to him, and to whom he had, by his raſh Credulity, done more Injury than he could ever repair.

THE Hearts of his very Enemies relented, as it were in ſpite of them, to ſee the ſad and cruel State to which he was reduced, after a long Series of uninterrupted Proſperity; and they could not refuſe to pity the great Humiliation and Diſgrace of a firſt Miniſter, whoſe high Situation and Fortune they had ſo long envy'd.

EVERY Body did him Juſtice in their Hearts, and the King more than any: But how could they acquit him, though they knew him ſo innocent and unblameable, without condemning themſelves? It was, therefore, unavoidable for him to be the Victim of that

unhappy Maxim which has too much prevail'd in the Courts of Princes, and which makes it indecent for Kings, who are impoſed upon every Day, to own, even after the Injuſtice is manifeſt, that they were deceived. Moreover, what other Courſe could the King take with the Man who had the Key of all the Secrets of State; and who, after the cruel Outrage committed againſt him, might think himſelf authorized to deceive him? How did they know but he might be tempted to put the Plots in Execution, for which he was puniſh'd before-hand? And what had they not to fear from a Man of his Genius, Capacity, and Courage, if once he gave Way to his Reſentments, and was at Liberty to act?

State Policy, therefore, required that he ſhould paſs for a criminal, both becauſe he had been already treated as ſuch, and becauſe he might become ſo. Therefore, though the King was convinced of his Innocence, though he was perſwaded, that blind as he was, he ſaw more clearly into Affairs than all the Miniſters and Confidents that he had left; and that he was even better qualified than any of them to be firſt Miniſter; yet as he could not thoroughly confide for the Time to come in the Advice of a Man, whom he had treated too ill ever to truſt him, he reſolved to put him out of his Way. But though he was

under

under that Neceſſity to keep a ſtrict Guard upon a Man to whom it might be dangerous to grant his full Liberty, he endeavoured, however, to make his Captivity the more tolerable, by giving him the Caſtle of *Chiras* for his Priſon with a very great Penſion. My Memoirs do not ſpecify how rich it was, but if we may be allow'd to form a Judgment from the Conduct of *Schah-Solyman*, Father of *Schah-Huſſein*, to the two Chief Phyſicians of the King his Father, whom, though he might have juſtly condemned to Death, he choſe to confine in ſuch a Priſon as this for their Lives, and gave them 20000 Crowns Penſion, 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe that *Schah-Huſſein* granted one much more conſiderable to a Prime Miniſter, who had always been his Favourite, and to whom he endeavoured by all the good Uſage, which was conſiſtent with State Policy, to make amends, as far as poſſible, for the irreparable Injury he had done him. He alſo made it his Buſineſs to comfort him by ſetting before his Eyes, the unavoidable Neceſſity of Deſtiny which makes, as it were, an Article of Faith in the Mahometan Religion; ſo that it may be ſaid, that at the ſame that he confined him to a Priſon as a Criminal, every Step he took towards him, could not but convince the whole Court, that in his Heart he thought him innocent. This Miniſter was, therefore, conducted to *Chiras*, where he lived till *Maghmud*

had taken *Ispahan*, when he was poisoned, as some say, for fear lest the Usurper should carry him off, and make use of his Counsels; or perhaps, as others say, he broke his Heart at the Sight of his own Personal Misfortunes, and the Desolation of his Country. Which Way soever he died 'tis certain that he lost his Life soon after *Schah-Hussein* lost the Crown; and that if in the General Calamity of the Kingdom, he had any Personal Resentment on his own Account, it must be to find himself sweetly revenged by the Ruin of a Master, who only fell from the Throne, because he had deprived himself of the Assistance of the Minister that was most able to maintain him upon it. He was the Man in all *Persia* that made the best Appearance, and had the greatest Talents. He loved all *Europeans* in general, but particularly the *French*, to whom he endeavoured to procure the Preference in Trade to all the other *European* Factories: And this he did, not only out of an Inclination to them, but much more from a Reason of State, having a Notion that the too great Privileges which *Schah-Abas* had granted to those Companies were prejudicial to the Kingdom; and that the Government could only gain by the Diminution and Decay of their Trade. He was a Man of very regular Management in his Affairs, and rather generous than stingy in the use of his great Wealth, which he ow'd rather to his good Conduct and Oeconomy,

conomy, than to Violence and Injuſtice. The only Reproach which he ſeems to deſerve was, for having too much exaſperated *Myrr-Weis* againſt the Prince *Georgi-Kan* Governor of *Candahar*, whoſe Death may in one Senſe be imputed to him. The Death of the Prince *Koſtrow-Kan*, the latter's Nephew, and the Defeat of his Army, may alſo be aſcrib'd to the Meaſures which this Miniſter made uſe of to thwart an Expedition, which it was his Intereſt to hinder the Prince from ſucceeding in. For this, indeed, how unjuſt ſoever his Condemnation and Diſgrace were on the Part of the King his Maſter, and his Enemies, 'twas very juſt on the Part of Providence, which in the Diſpenſation of its Juſtice to Mankind generally makes uſe of the Injuſtice of ſome, to puniſh the Injuſtice of others.

The ſame Political Maxim which had forced the King to ſacrifice his Miniſter, as innocent as he knew him to be, obliged him to diſſemble his Deſigns to the two Informers, who had ſo baſely impoſed on him. They urg'd in Excuſe the extraordinary Zeal with which they had been tranſported upon an Occaſion wherein they thought the King's Life in peril. 'Tis very true that if this Prince had pleaſed, as he might eaſily have done, and as the *Athemat-Doulet* had hinted to him, to have traced that fatal Letter, which had been made uſe of to deceive him, he would

would ſoon have found, that a Zeal for his Perſon was a mere Pretence, in an Intrigue, where the only Plot was that which was formed againſt his Miniſter; but he thought it was dangerous for him to dive into a Myſtery, where he was afraid of finding Criminals whoſe Number and Weight might have cruſhed him: Being ſo abandon'd to his Eunuchs, that they had his Life in their Hands, he choſe rather to huſh the Affair than, by ſeeming to miſtruſt them, to create a Jealouſy in them, of which he might be a Victim. Therefore he accepted of the Excuſes made by the two Authors of the Calumny; ſo that, Thanks to the Maxim which was always obſerved in Favour of Informers, *viz. That to require too much Circumſpection of them, by making them anſwerable for the Facts which they relate, would be to defeat the Ends of their Inquiry and Vigilance; and that no Body hereafter would venture to give Advice to Princes in a real Danger, if a Man muſt be found guilty for having taken a falſe Alarm*, they came off with a Reprimand, in which tho' their Miſtake was blamed, their Attention and Zeal was commended.

But nothing was a better Demonſtration how much they were convinced of the Firſt Miniſter's Innocence, than the Carriage towards all thoſe who under the Denomination of Kindred, Friends, or Creatures, were arreſted with him, and involved in his Diſ-

grace. All were ſet at Liberty, and ſent home without any other Examination; and if any were detain'd at *Iſpahan*, it was only from a neceſſary Precaution againſt what a juſt Reſentment might put them upon attempting in the Country. All in general were reſtor'd to their Eſtates; but as it might not be ſafe to truſt the Guard of the Provinces to Perſons that had been ſo ill uſed, thoſe who had been removed from their Governments were not reſtored, except a ſmall Number, who, by Reaſon of the Securities they gave of their Fidelity, or by the good Offices of their Friends, had Credit enough to be fully reinſtated in their Poſts.

But though the Perſecution againſt thoſe who adhered to the Prime Miniſter was at firſt ſo general, yet two were excepted out of it, who were very nearly related to him in Quality of his Sons-in-Law. They were two Noblemen of the Family of the Princes of *Georgia*. The one was called *Kullar-Aghaſi*, Brother to him who actually held the Principality of *Georgia*; and the other was *Machmet-Kuli-Kan*, Prince of *Kachet* in the ſame *Georgia*. They were both at Court in the Time of the Diſgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, their Father-in-Law; but their Fidelity to the King and the Government was ſo eſtabliſhed, that they were ſecured againſt all Manner of Suſpicion. Therefore while thoſe who had any particular Relation with their Father-

Father-in-Law were impriſoned every where, neither their Perſons nor Eſtates were touch'd. And though the Eſtates of the Prime Miniſter were forfeited, they had ſo much Regard for the Sons-in-Law, that they ſequeſtered the Part which was to come to them for their Wives Dowry, which was all paid them.

As to the General *Luft-Ali-Kan*, Brother-in-Law to the *Athemat-Doulet*, who was taken up at *Chiras*, as we have obſerved; though at the Time that he was brought to Court, the Prejudices on Account of the pretended Conſpiracy were vaniſhed, yet he was not treated near ſo kindly as that Miniſter's two Sons-in-Law: But then he was uſed not ſo much like a Criminal, as like a Man they were afraid would become ſo, and whom they would, therefore, diſable from being ſuch. Indeed they deprived him, with ſome Colour of Juſtice, of all that he had plundered in the Province during his laſt Campaign; but they did not touch his Eſtate of Inheritance, which was reſerved entire to his Family. As for him, they detained him at *Iſpahan*, under a genteel Guard, without any Mark of Scandal, that could ſtick either upon him or his Family, and only to be ſafe againſt the Conſequences of the Reſentment of a Man who was only ſuſpected, becauſe he had met with ill Treatment enough to provoke him to be a Malecontent. But notwithſtanding the Injuſtice which had been done him, he ſhew'd plainly

plainly afterwards, that he was always more diſpoſed to forget Outrages than his Duty. Nor was it from any Diſguſt that he refuſed to command the Troops, as he was importuned to do at the Time that *Iſpahan* began to be preſſed with the Famine, but merely, as he ſaid himſelf in Juſtification of his Refuſal, becauſe with the few Troops that remained, he ſaw plainly that there was no Good to be done with the *Aghvans*; and that in the mean Time, if, while he did his beſt, the leaſt Thing ſhould happen to check him, the Suſpicions of what was paſt would cauſe it to be imputed to him as a Crime. His Excuſes were at that Time taken for a mere Pretext to cover that ſecret Diſguſt which hinder'd him from Action; but his Conduct when *Maghmud* was Maſter of *Iſpahan*, plainly ſhew'd the Candor of his Proceeding, and the Uprightneſs of his Intentions. As this Uſurper had learned, at his own Expence, what he was capable of doing, he left no Stone unturn'd to make him his Friend, and he thought that *Luft-Ali-Kan* would be the more pliable, becauſe he did not doubt that this Nobleman would prefer the Friendſhip of a new King, who heap'd Wealth and Honour upon him, before that of an unjuſt and dethroned King, who had abuſed him in both theſe Reſpects. But though, as ſoon as he entered *Iſpahan*, his very firſt Care was to ſend for him to come to him, to give him all

all the Marks of Favour and Diſtinction that were moſt likely to win him, to raiſe him to new Honours, to load him with Favours of all kind; and though he every Day improved his kind Treatment of him, he could never gain him to the Prejudice of what he thought his Duty to the Royal Family, and *Schah-Huſſein* had the Mortification to ſee that this ſame Man, whom he was ſo weak as to ſuſpect of Treaſon, could not reſolve with himſelf to abandon him, when it had been pardonable for him to have done it, and notwithſtanding the Example he had firſt ſhewn him, by abandoning himſelf. *Luſt-Ali-Kan*, who might have lived peaceably at *Iſpahan*, eſteem'd and valued by him that was the Maſter there, and who demanded no other Complaiſance of him, but to receive his Favours, and to take them in good Part, would not ſo much as give himſelf Time to ſtay till ſome fair Opportunity offered to ſerve his old Maſters. Notwithſtanding all the Favours which the new King heaped upon him, all his Care was to get out of his Way; for which at laſt he found an Opportunity, and with the Riſque of every Thing, laid hold of it to go and join the Prince *Thamas*, Son of *Schah-Huſſein*, with whom he had a Son already; and who with a handful of Troops ſtill kept up the remaining Hopes of the Royal Family in one Corner of *Perſia*.

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NOTHING is a better Proof of the high Idea which the *Aghvans* had conceived of the Abilities of this great Captain, than their Conſternation at his Eſcape.

FROM the very firſt Suſpicion they had of him they were ſo uneaſy and alarmed, as if they thought themſelves ruin'd. And really, conſidering the Notion they had, which was not without Foundation, that if a General of his Merit and Experience was at the Head of Prince *Thamas*' Party, his Reputation would ſoon make him conſiderable, and he would come himſelf e're long to attack them in *Iſpahan*, and to drive them out as he had done two Years before from *Kirman*, they ſpared neither Menaces nor Promiſes to deter him. Strict Search was made for him in all the Houſes of *Iſpahan*, which was threaten'd with Fire and Sword, if it ſhould appear that any Inhabitants had concealed him; the greateſt Rewards were promiſed to any who ſhould diſcover them: In ſhort, every Thing was in Diſorder and Tumult among the *Aghvans*, when Advice came that he was diſcovered and apprehended at *Ben-Iſpahan*, a great Town in the Neighbourhood of the Capital, and that they were carrying him to *Maghmud*. This *Barbarian* was ſo enraged, becauſe of the Trouble his Eſcape had put him to, that the Moment he ſaw him, he ruſh'd upon him with Fury, and cut him to Pieces with his Sword. One may judge of

of the Fright he had been in at this General's Escape by the Obligation he profess'd to the Inhabitants of *Ben-Ispahan*, for having deliver'd him up. As they had given him more Trouble than any City of *Persia*; and as they had defeated several Bodies of his Troops during the Siege of *Ispahan*, he never could be heartily reconciled to them; and though he was all along very strict in observing the Conditions upon which they submitted to him, yet it was plain that he remember'd old Scores, and only waited for an Opportunity to be revenged. But the Service which they had now done him, in delivering up the only Man in *Persia* to him that he beliv'd capable of driving him out of a Throne, upon which he never thought himself well established, so long as he had such an Enemy before his Eyes, seemed of such great Importance to him, that it cancell'd all the Prejudices which he had till then entertained against the Inhabitants of *Ben-Ispahan;* and he looked upon them afterwards as Persons who were Proof against all Temptations. He imagin'd that, after an Action of such Noise and Importance, by which they had render'd themselves irreconcileable with their old Masters, he might hereafter depend upon them as much as upon the *Aghvans* themselves, and he gave them the most authentick Marks of his Gratitude, and even

of

of his Confidence by the Privileges of all Kinds, of which he was laviſh to them.

What I have juſt now related of the Death of the General *Luſt Ali-Kan*, did not happen till towards the Cloſe of 1722. and after *Schah-Huſſein*'s Dethronement ; but it was neceſſary to anticipate Events a little, that the Reader might have all the Satisfaction that he could deſire, with regard to the Fate of this Great Man, whoſe Diſgrace, as well as that of the Prime Miniſter, his Brother-in-Law, ought to be looked upon as the *Epocha* of the firſt Blow that ſhook the Throne of *Schah-Huſſein*, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

It was in *November*, 1720. that the General was apprehended at *Chiras*, juſt as he was on the March to beſiege *Candahar*. His Army which encamped round *Chiras*, and which only waited for his Orders to decamp, no ſooner heard that he was apprehended as a Malefactor for High-Treaſon, and carried under a ſtrong Guard to Court, but every one fearing to be involved in his Diſgrace, that they ſhould be called to account for the Violences committed in the *Perſian* Gulph, and the neighbouring Provinces, and that they ſhould be robbed of the Booty they had brought away, took care to ſhift for themſelves as faſt as poſſible ; ſo that this Army, which was one of the fineſt that had been on Foot

in *Persia* for a long Time, was dispersed in a Moment.

This was what those who governed at Court foresaw plain enough, if they did not contribute to it by giving the Alarm to the Troops of the Search which was threaten'd to be made among them, for having plundered the Provinces. 'Tis certain that they were very easy at Court at the dispersing of this Army, on one hand, because they were afraid it would take Revenge for the Affront put upon their General, who was very dear to them, or lest the Spirit of Rebellion should creep in among them, and blow up a Flame in the State; and on the other hand, because Affairs took a Turn which made it probable they had no longer need of them.

And indeed it seemed they had nothing to fear, neither from the *Lesgians*, nor *Maghmud*. For the latter since his Defeat was afraid to stir out of *Candahar*; and there actually went Reports that the *Aghvans* being alarmed, and mortify'd at this first Shock, and not caring to expose themselves to a second, which would destroy them without Remedy, desired nothing better than to enter into an Accommodation. As for the *Lesgians*, who were threaten'd with a speedy Irruption by *Vachtanga*, Prince of *Georgia*, and who had no other Means to lay the Storm, than by making their Peace with the King of *Persia*, to whom *Vachtanga* was Vassal, they desired it with folded Hands, and spared no Solicitations

citations nor Submiſſion to prevail with the Court to protect them from the Reſentment of a Prince, by whom they ſaw themſelves ready to be cruſhed to Pieces. And as this is the firſt Time of his Appearance upon the Stage, it will not be improper to give the Reader a true Account of him, and of what gave Occaſion to the Incurſion that he was preparing to make againſt the *Leſgians*.

After the Death of *Koſtrow-Kan*, Prince of *Georgia*, who was killed, as has been ſaid, in his firſt Expedition againſt *Myrr-Weis*, *Vachtanga*, as Eldeſt of the ſurviving Princes, ought to have ſucceeded him. But becauſe he could not do it without changing his Religion, he choſe rather to renounce his Right and Title. That Brother who followed him, being already Patriarch of *Georgia*, offered to turn *Muſſulman*, and to take a Wife, by quitting the Patriarchat for the Principality. But their Father, who was *Divan-Beg*, or Chief Juſtice at *Iſpahan*, did not approve of the Patriarch's Thought, and, notwithſtanding he was ſuch a ſtaunch Muſſulman himſelf, looked upon it as a Temptation, of which he found Means to cure him, by a great Number of Baſtinadoes on the Soles of his Feet, by which he confirmed him in his Patriarchat*. Mean Time, a third Brother who was not under the ſame Engagements as the

* *Tis ſaid that he died afterwards a Roman Catholick.*

ſecond, turned Mahometan, and was made Prince of *Georgia*. As for *Vachtanga*, the Court was ſo diſguſted with his Denial, that they baniſhed him to *Kirman*. But at length, when a few Years were expired, the Tedioufneſs of his Exile prevailed on him, and rendered him more pliable to the Solicitations and great Promiſes that were made to engage him to take the Turban; and as ſoon as this was done, he had all the Rights of Primogeniture reſtored to him, and was inſtalled Prince of *Georgia*.

When he was arrived at *Teflis*, which is the Capital of the Country, and had heard, and partly ſeen with his own Eyes, the horrid Ravages which the *Leſgians* had made on his Lands, he reſolved on ſuch Revenge, as ſhould for ever put it out of their Power to attempt the like again, and which might ſerve for a Warning to his Neighbours. With this Deſign, therefore, he called together all the Nobility of his Dominions, and having ordered all his Vaſſals that were fit to bear Arms, to come and join him at *Teflis*, he formed an Army therewith of ſixty thouſand Men. In getting them together, and in making the other neceſſary Preparations for his Expedition, he ſpent the laſt Months of the Year 1719. which was the Year of his Return, and the firſt Months of the Year 1720.

He

He was in a Condition to open the Campaign about the End of the Spring. But as his Design was more upon their Persons, than upon their Country, whose Poverty secured it, it was to no Purpose for him to hurry himself to Action. He knew that 'twas their Custom to leave the Plains about the Beginning of Summer, and to retire with their Flocks to the inaccessible Parts of Mount *Caucasus*, where they are sure to find a Shelter against the Heats of the Season, which in the Fields are not tolerable. Therefore he resolved to take Time till the Cold of the Autumn and Winter drove them from Mount *Caucasus*, where 'tis very severe, and obliged them to come down again into the Plains, where he depended on having them at his Mercy.

When the *Lesgians* saw his Manner of proceeding, they imagined that they were undone without Remedy, if they did not find Means to ward off the Blow: And as nothing but the Authority of the King of *Persia*, could hold the Arm which they saw lifted up over their Heads, they were under an indispensable Necessity of having Recourse to it. Mean Time, as it was already the Month of *December* before they received the News that the Court of *Persia* had complied with their Submission, they knew not what Course to steer. To quit Mount *Caucasus*, and to come down into the Plains, was to abandon themselves to the *Georgians*. To

ſtay upon that Mountain in the Winter Time, was the Way to periſh. And accordingly ſeven hundred Families of thoſe, who in their Terror at the Approach of the *Georgians* were ſo obſtinate as to ſtay upon Mount *Caucaſus*, were buried in the Snows, which was a Loſs of near ſeventy thouſand Men to the Nation, each Family conſiſting generally of about an hundred Perſons.

They were in this cruel *Dilemma*, when, happy for them, though unhappy for *Schah-Huſſein*, they were delivered out of it by the two very Informers, who had lately ruined the Prime Miniſter; and who, on this Occaſion, made the King commit a ſecond Blunder, as prejudicial to him as the former, and to which he ought partly to aſcribe the Loſs of his Crown.

The formidable Army, which the Prince of *Georgia* had on Foot, was as terrifying to the Chief Phyſician *Hekim-Baſzi*, and to the Chief Moullah, or Chaplain to the King, as it was to the *Leſgians*. One of the Sons of the degraded *Athemat-Doulet*, was Brother to the Prince of *Georgia*; and as People conſcious of their own Guilt are always under Terror, and imagine that every Thing they do, tends directly to the Puniſhment of their Crimes, they imagined that the Prince *Vachtanga* would no ſooner do himſelf Juſtice upon the *Leſgians*, but that he would put himſelf at the Head of ſixty thouſand

ſand good Soldiers, and might be tempted to come and demand Satisfaction of the King for the Injuſtice that had been done to the Prime Miniſter, and to force him at leaſt to give up the two Informers to him, that had been the Cauſe of his Ruin.

BEING alarm'd in this Reſpect, they frighten'd the King yet more in another. Notwithſtanding all the Conviction which *Schah-Huſſein* had of the Innocence of his Prime Miniſter, and of the Knavery of his two Confidents, his Weakneſs, and a long Acquaintance, which is a fatal Rock to Princes, permitted them to regain the Aſcendant, which they always had over him. They improved it by making him jealous of Prince *Vachtanga*'s Undertaking, by repreſenting to him, that this Expedition, wherein the Prince ſeem'd to aim only at the *Leſgians*, concerned his Majeſty as much, or more than the *Leſgians* themſelves; that with the powerful Army, at the Head of which he marched againſt thoſe *Barbarians*, he would ſoon reduce them; and that after having taken their Country, which Borders upon *Muſcovy*, he would be very well able, with the Reinforcements he would get from the *Muſcovites*, to moleſt and attack *Perſia*, whenever he pleaſed: That there was a very plain Method to prevent, and to defeat his Projects; that the only Thing that needed to be done, was to grant Peace to the *Leſgians*,

who had ſolicited it for a long Time, with the utmoſt Intreaty; and, in conſequence thereof, to ſend a poſitive Order to the Prince of *Georgia*, to diſarm, and to retire Home; that by doing ſo, he would gain the *Leſgians*, who would only be obliged for their Safety upon this Occaſion, to the King's Goodneſs and Clemency; and that even tho' they ſhould be ungrateful enough to forget their Obligation to his Majeſty, for having preſerved them from imminent and total Ruin, yet the Fear of being abandon'd to the Diſcretion of the Prince of *Georgia*, upon the firſt Inſurrection they ſhould make, would retain them in their Duty: That the Prince of *Georgia*, on his Part, having no longer a Pretext to take Arms, would lie very quiet on this Frontier; and that the Jealouſy and Diffidence between the *Georgians* and *Leſgians* would keep them both in a Subminiſſion, which would free the Court from all Uneaſineſs upon their Account.

The Advice was approved; and as the Affair was preſſing, and they knew that the Prince *Vachtanga* was already on the March, a Courier was ſent inſtantly to carry him the King's Orders, which were not only poſitive, but ſo lofty, that it ſeem'd he affected to treat him without any Decorum. In ſhort, the Order ſaid, That if he had taken Horſe for the Expedition, he muſt diſmount that Inſtant; that if he was actually purſuing the *Leſgians*, he muſt ſtop that Moment;

that

that if he had drawn his Sword he muſt immediately ſheath it; and that he muſt take great Care of diſturbing the Peace, which it had pleaſed the King to grant to that Nation.

'Tis more eaſy to imagine, than to expreſs how much the Prince *Vachtanga* was enraged at an Order ſo imperious and unſeaſonable. He was provoked to ſee certain Victory ſnatch'd out of his Hands; and that he ſhould be brav'd in ſuch a haughty Manner in the Sight of thoſe very *Barbarians*, that he was ready to cruſh to Pieces. It was thought that in his Vexation he would have gone farther, notwithſtanding the Orders of the Court, if he could have been ſure of the chief Lords of his Nobility, whoſe Troops made great Part of his Army; but miſtruſting that the Court had gain'd them, and fearing to be abandoned by them, as the Prince *Georgi-Kan* formerly was, if he contraven'd the King's Orders, he took the only Courſe he had to take, which was to declare that he would obey. He made the Declaration, indeed, but in a Manner that was truly worthy of his great Soul; for having ſent for the Courier, which had brought him the Order, he drew his Sword before him, and pointing him to it, made an Oath that he would never draw it for the Service of the King, or the Defence of *Perſia*; an Oath which he obſerved afterwards too religiouſly, to the great Prejudice of the King and Kingdom, as will appear hereafter. He retired after this

this Declaration, and carried back his Army, which raged with Indignation to see that, after all the Ravages which the *Lesgians* had made in *Georgia*, they should escape out of their Hands, just as they were on the Point of sacrificing them to their Vengeance. Therefore they conceived from that Time such an indifferent Opinion of *Persia*, that they never were reconciled to it afterwards. As to the Prince *Vachtanga* he took Care to secure his Frontiers against the Excursions of the *Lesgians*. After which he shut himself up at *Teflis*, resolved to have nothing at all to do with *Persia*, and not to bear Arms, unless he was attacked himself. All this pass'd about the End of the Year 1720. and not long after the Disgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, which happen'd, as we have said, in *November* the same Year.

After what the Court of *Persia* had lately done in Favour of the *Lesgians*, whom they had preserv'd from total Destruction, they expected a great Calm on the Side of that Frontier; and 'tis certain that they had all the Reason to expect it, if they could depend on the Gratitude and Oaths of those *Barbarians*. But they were Bonds too weak to stop a fierce Nation, accustomed to live by Robbery, and not to be aw'd by any Thing less than the Fear of a superior Power. This Peace which they had solicited with the greatest Earnestness, and which they had, as we may

ſay, begg'd on their very Knees, ſubſiſted no longer on their Part, than till they could recover from their paſt Fright. It ſcarce laſted three or four Months, and they ſpent Part of the Time in making Preparations for the Campaign, as ſoon as the Seaſon ſhould permit. For, as ſoon as they ſaw that the *Georgian* Army was retired, and that after the Oath which the Prince of *Georgia* had taken never to draw the Sword for the Service of *Perſia*, they had nothing to fear from him, as long as they did not touch his Frontiers, they reſolved to fall upon the Provinces of *Perſia* which they bordered upon, and which the Court, from a too great Confidence in the Faith of a Treaty they had wheedled them into, had left abſolutely unprovided of Forces. They wanted nothing but a Pretext to break the Peace, which they had juſt concluded; and they ſought for one that might intereſt the whole Nation, and oblige even thoſe who before had kept fair with *Perſia*, to take Arms in their Quarrel. The Diſgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, whoſe Eyes had been put out, and who was confined in *Perſia* for the Remainder of his Days, after his Eſtate was forfeited, ſeem'd to them very likely to produce the Effect which they propoſed.

This Miniſter, as has been obſerved before, was originally of their Nation, and even of the Blood of their Kings. They pretended,

ed, that it was out of Spight to the whole Nation he had been so cruelly and basely treated; and that it concern'd their Honour to resent it. Scarce any Thing could be worse contriv'd than this Pretext; for, as their Treaty of Accommodation was not made, till after the Disgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, it does not appear how the Injustice done to one of their Countrymen could authorize them to break the Peace, which it had not hinder'd them from concluding. But, as they only wanted a Pretext; and, as that seem'd to them more specious than any other, they made use of it to incense the whole Nation, and to make it sensible of the Obligation of a common Resentment, from which no Body was to be dispensed withal. Therefore he summon'd an Assembly of all the Families upon this Head, wherein it was resolved, that the whole Nation should take Arms to demand Satisfaction for the Affront which had been put upon it in the Person of the *Athemat-Doulet*, their Countryman. The League was general; and even those who till then had liv'd in a good Understanding with *Persia*, were at last oblig'd to join with the others to attack it.

They went into the Field in the Beginning of the Spring, 1721. and fell upon the neighbouring Provinces, which little expected such a Visit; and thinking that they had a good Safeguard in the Treaty concluded three or four Months before, were out of a Capacity

city to make any Reſiſtance. The *Leſgians* ſpread themſelves every where, like a Torrent which nothing can reſiſt: They plunder'd ſeveral very conſiderable Towns, and particularly *Szamachi*: And, after having cut in Pieces ſome Troops that were rallied together to oppoſe their Excurſions and Ravages, they fell upon the Province of *Szyrwan*, one of the richeſt in *Perſia*, which they ſoon reduced to be one of the pooreſt, by their plundering it without Mercy.

It was at the ſame Time that the City of *Tauris*, which was the greateſt, and moſt famous of *Perſia*, next to *Iſpahan*, and which is alſo comprized in the Province of *Szyrwan*, was deſtroy'd by an Earthquake, wherein eighty thouſand Souls periſhed. This Calamity, added to the Scourge of War, occaſioned a very great Conſternation through all *Perſia*. But what moſt frightened *Iſpahan*, was, a Phænomenon that appear'd there in the Air, during the Summer of 1721. The Clouds being at that Time very thick, the Sun appeared through them of a Blood Colour, which laſted near two Months. The Aſtrologers of *Perſia* being conſulted upon it, declared that it was an Omen of a great Effuſion of Blood; and, as they are very much heard in that Country, the Account which they gave of the Phænomenon, only ſerved to augment the Conſternation, which was more viſible at Court, than elſe where. Eve-

ry Body ſeem'd to have a ſecret Foreboding of the Calamities that were ſoon to arrive: But this Apprehenſion, inſtead of awaking the King and his Miniſters, by rouzing them out of the profound Lethargy which they ſeem'd to be buried in; and inſtead of animating them to make any extraordinary Effort to prevent the Misfortunes, with which they were threaten'd on all Sides; only made them ſullen and heartleſs, like People that ſee an Evil coming over their Heads, which they have no Strength nor Means to avoid. The Inaction and the Weakneſs of the Court by this general Diſcouragement was what reviv'd the Hopes of *Myrr-Maghmud*, and gave him an Opportunity to verify the Preſages and Predictions which the Stars and Star Gazers had foretold in vain, if the *Perſians* had had but the Courage to have taken the neceſſary Meaſures to divert the Effects of them. This is what I am going to explain in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, in which it will appear that never was there a cheaper Conqueſt of ſo great a Kingdom; that the Conquerors never dream'd of any ſuch Thing; and that they had not determined at laſt to undertake it, if they had not thought the Succeſs ſure, and found it every Day more practicable, the farther they advanc'd

The End of the Firſt Volume.

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